# The View From Istanbul

## Ottoman Lebanon and the Druze Emirate



Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn

# THE VIEW FROM ISTANBUL

To Kamal S. Salibi

# The View from Istanbul:

## Lebanon and the Druze Emirate in the Ottoman Chancery Documents, 1546–1711

Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn

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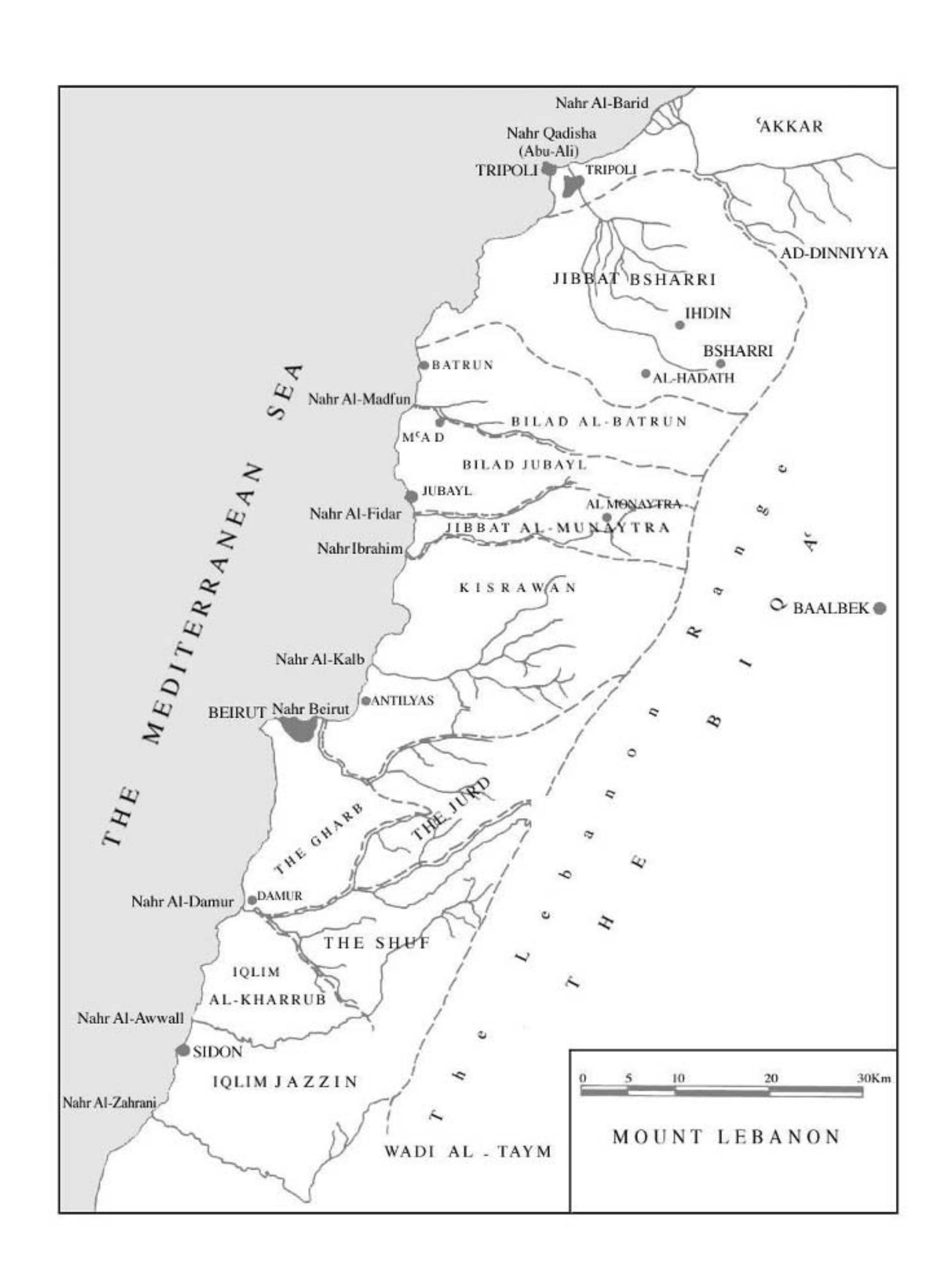
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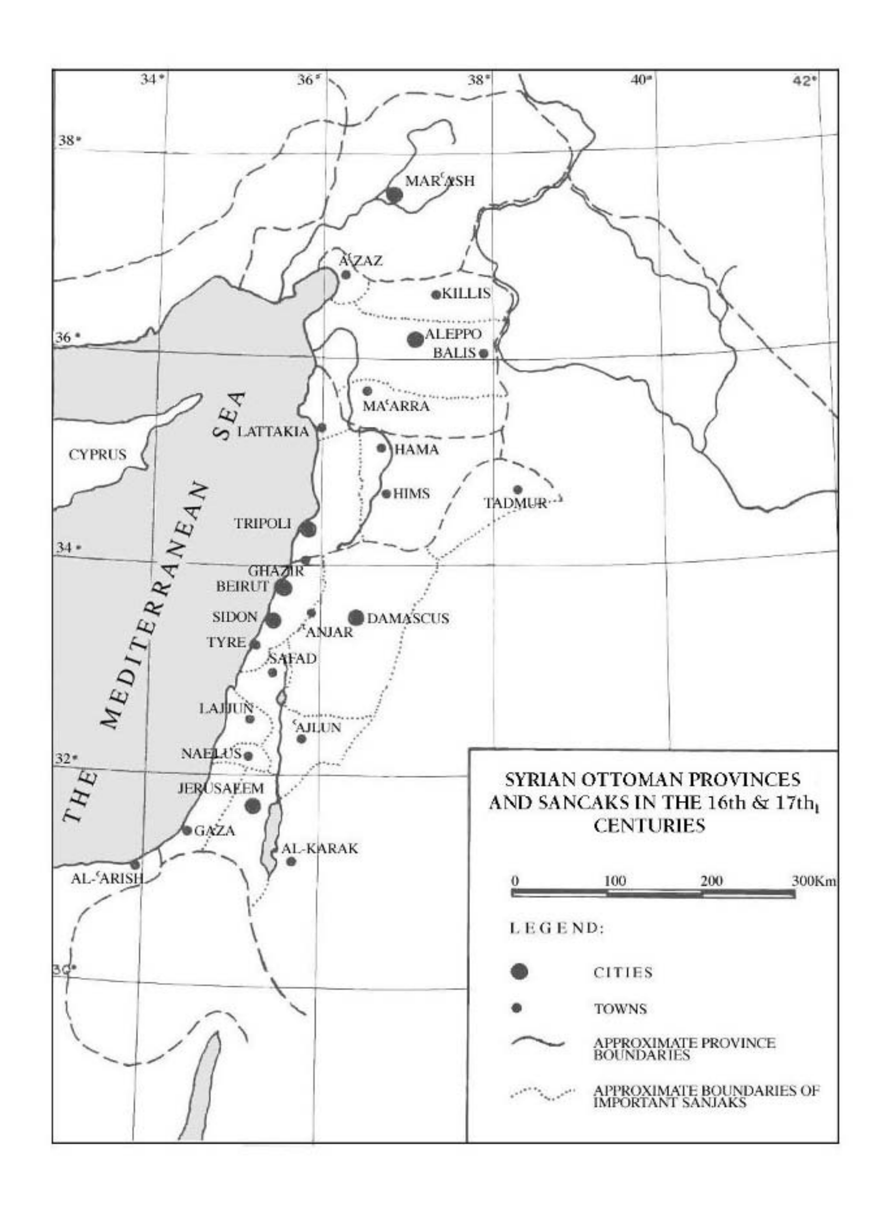
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# Note on Translation and Transliteration

Below are full translations of Mühimme documents on Lebanon. The only omissions made in the documents pertain to Turkish and Arabic compliments such as düstur-u mükerrem, müşir-i müfahham, nazım el-alem, qudwat al-amathil wa-al-aqran, qudwat al-umara' al-kiram, zida qadruhu and dama majduhu, which are used to refer to high ranking officials of the state. I have also translated the Turkish oglu into the more familiar Arabic ibn, when it pertains to Arab personalities.

As this book represents Ottoman Turkish documents relating to the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the text includes the names of Ottoman officials and Ottoman Turkish administrative terms as well as the names of local, that is, Arab, places and personalities: in both cases the transliteration system used is the one found in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. One exception in the case of Turkish names was made with respect to those that in a d, which was not changed into a t; thus Ahmed rather than Ahmet. Place and personal names and titles that have an accepted English form have been used accordingly. In all cases, diacritical marks, other than those used in the modern Turkish alphabet and the Arabic ‘ayn (‘) and hamza ('), were not used. Where the identity of a particular person could not be definitely established as often occurred, especially where people were only identified by their first names, I have hazarded to make a guess based on the context in which the names occurs.


Nahr Al-Barid
ʿAKKAR
Nahr Qadisha
(Abu-Ali)
TRIPOLI
TRIPOLI
AD-DINNIYYA
JIBBAT BSHARRI
IHDIN
BSHARRI
AL-HADATH
BATRUN
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Nahr Al-Madfun
BILAD AL-BATRUN
MʿAD
BILAD JUBAYL
JUBAYL
AL MONAYTRA
Nahr Al-Fidar
JIBBAT AL-MUNAYTRA
Nahr Ibrahim
KISRAWAN
BAALBEK
THE BIQAʿ
The Lebanon Range
Nahr Al-Kalb
ANTILYAS
BEIRUT
Nahr Beirut
THE JURD
THE GHARB
Nahr Al-Damur
DAMUR
THE SHUF
IQLIM
AL-KHARRUB
Nahr Al-Awwall
SIDON
IQLIM JAZZIN
Nahr Al-Zahrani
WADI AL - TAYM
0
5
10
20
30Km
MOUNT LEBANON



34°
36°
38°
40°
42°
38°
36°
34°
32°
30°
MAR'ASH
A'ZAZ
KILLIS
ALEPPO
BALIS
MA'ARRA
LATTAKIA
HAMA
HIMS
TADMUR
TRIPOLI
GHAZIR
BEIRUT
SIDON
DAMASCUS
'ANJAR
TYRE
SAFAD
LAJJUN
'AJLUN
NABLUS
JERUSALEM
GAZA
AL-KARAK
AL-'ARISH
CYPRUS
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SYRIAN OTTOMAN PROVINCES AND SANCAKS IN THE 16th & 17th CENTURIES
0
100
200
300Km
LEGEND:
CITIES
TOWNS
APPROXIMATE PROVINCE BOUNDARIES
APPROXIMATE BOUNDARIES OF IMPORTANT SANJAKS

# Introduction

This book contains translations into English of the documents of the Ottoman *Umur-i Mühimme Defteri*, or Register of Public Affairs, which bear on the history of Lebanon – or, rather, the parts of Ottoman Syria that ultimately came to form Lebanon – in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is the period in the Ottoman history of the country that has hitherto received the least scholarly attention because local documentation for it is, at best, scarce and uneven and, for the most part, lacking. This is not the case for the history of Lebanon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when local documentation becomes more plentiful. Consequently, scholars of Lebanese history during the Ottoman period have tended to focus their attention on these two latter centuries and barely touch on the two preceding ones.[1]

The disparity in the local documentation on Lebanese history between the first two centuries of Ottoman rule, on the one hand, and the latter two centuries, on the other, is probably due to the fact that Mount Lebanon did not begin to take form as an historical entity distinct from its Ottoman Syrian surroundings before the eighteenth century. It was only then that the central and southern regions of the Lebanon mountain range (the Maronite region of Kisrawan and the adjacent Druze country) came to have distinctive political institutions recognized both locally and by the central Ottoman administration.

One has to bear in mind here that, from the time of the Ottoman conquest (1516) until the government of the Lebanese mountains became relatively regularized by way of *iltizam*, or tax concession, under the Shihab emirs (1711), the territory today known as Lebanon did not constitute an historical unit on its own, but was divided between the different provinces of Ottoman Syria, among them Damascus. It was only natural in the circumstances that the inhabitants of the territory in question should have conceived of their affairs as part and parcel of those of the larger Syrian territorial-

1. An exception to this is the considerable and almost exclusive attention that Fakhr al-Din Ma‘n (died 1635) and his era have received.

administrative units to which their homelands then belonged. Consequently, the history of the Lebanese regions in the historical literature of these two centuries, apart from some fragmentary local records, tends to be subsumed in the broader history of Ottoman Syria, from which it is barely distinguishable, even in retrospect. Thus, for the modern scholar studying the Lebanon for this period, it is extremely difficult to separate the parochial affairs of the territory of present-day Lebanon from those of the Syrian provinces of which they formed, at least politically and administratively, integral parts. It is for this reason and also because of the dearth of information available from local sources that modern scholarship has tended to ignore the first two centuries of the Ottoman regime in Lebanon to concentrate instead on the period that followed.

In the absence, or near absence, of local literature on these two obscure centuries of Lebanese history and due to the spottiness of the information yielded by this literature, to the limited extent that it is available, the relevant Ottoman documentation on the subject acquires exceptional significance. This documentation furnishes official statements and instructions that speak about, or allude to, contemporary events and problems in particular areas. These statements and instructions, addressed by the central Ottoman government in Istanbul to local governors and civil or military officials, are often enigmatic and do not, by themselves, tell complete stories. Being intended for purely administrative use, as will subsequently be explained, they are more often than not laconic and fragmentary, speaking of particulars and ignoring the broader historical context. Yet, taken together, these documents do form a substantial body of source material from which the broad lines of the story of Lebanon in earlier Ottoman times may be reconstructed, at least in part.

The bulk of the *Umur-i Mühimme Defteri*, consisting of 263 registers covering the period 1553–1905,[2] is preserved in the *Başbakanlık Arşivi* (Archives of the Prime Ministry) in Istanbul. Some other registers are to be found in other categories of these archives, in other libraries of the old Ottoman capital, or abroad. As registers, they are classified only chronologically, without regard to region, subject, or any other consideration.[3]

2. Some documents included in this work were actually issued before 1553.
3. The material in this book is exclusively taken from the *Mühimme* and the *Mühimme Zeyli* Registers.

Each register contains copies of hundreds and sometimes thousands of orders issued by the central government to provincial governors, *kadı*s, administrative functionaries of various kinds, or private individuals. In many cases, if not most, these orders were issued in response to petitions (singular *arzuhal*), complaints (singular *şikayet*), or reports sent from the provinces and concerning public or private matters – orders dealing with complaints of a purely personal nature against state officials or other private individuals only came to be preserved in a special *Şikayat Defteri*, or Register of Complaints, starting from 1649.

A typical order would begin by explaining the nature of the petition, complaint, or report received. This introductory part of the order is especially important as historical source material because it gives detailed information about local situations, developments, events or irregularities in the province (*eyalet* or *beylerbeylik*), administrative region (*sancak*), or administrative district (*nahiye*) from which the petition, complaint, or report originated.

What follows is the official reaction to the information the central government, as personified by the Sultan, received, written in the first person to express approval, disapproval or condemnation of what has been reported. In the former case, the central government applauds the local administrative action taken; in the latter, it instructs the responsible local official or officials to take the necessary corrective or punitive measures, or commands further enquiry where the rights and wrongs of a given case remain questionable or unclear. In this section of the order, the rationale behind the reaction is normally elaborated, often with reference to Islamic law (*şar'*), statute (*kanun*), established custom (*adet*), or Ottoman state interests.

Next follows the specific order, starting with the expression *buyurdum ki* (I have commanded), which sums up the case once more, reiterating the official reaction to it and the rationale behind this reaction, and gives instructions regarding the measures to be taken. Except in cases where a subsequent order indicates that these instructions were indeed carried out, one can never be certain whether or not they were satisfactorily obeyed.

While most documents preserved in the *Umur-i Mühimme Defteri* follow this norm, others do not, and it is possible that such documents did not originally belong to the *Mühimme* category, but were so classified *ad hoc*, for lack of a better alternative. Such are the documents taken from volume 50 of the register and presented in this book. Most of these are not strictly orders, but certificates (singular *berat*) assigning particular offices or grants

– *timar*s or *zeamet*s – to particular civil or military officials, or other individuals, in return for services rendered.

Due to their nature, the significance of both types of documents as important historical material is obvious. For the purposes of this book, they serve as a primary source for the history of Lebanon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and up until the early eighteenth century. On the one hand, they provide historical information, much of which is usually lacking or, at best, mentioned only in passing, in contemporary local sources – to the extent that these sources exist. This information sheds light on a wide variety of local administrative, fiscal, financial, military and judicial matters, as well as on problems faced by local functionaries, private individuals, or groups, or by the general run of the local civilian population (normally referred to as the *reaya*, or subjects). Thus, in many instances, the *Mühimme* documents can be invaluably helpful in explaining events or developments that are left unexplained in the local sources – one would suspect deliberately and for understandable reasons, not least of which was the local political motive, more often than not a strong variance with central government policy.[4] The documents also help to establish historical facts that these same local sources obscure, or on which they maintain a suspicious silence. What they further provide is basic information on Ottoman policy regarding the provinces – provincial and regional regulations, official appointments and changes of personnel, and a variety of other matters – which the contemporary local literature ignores, or of which it makes no more than cursory mention.

Considering all this, the significance of the *Mühimme* documents as historical source material can hardly be exaggerated. They remain, however, insufficient in themselves for the reconstruction of a coherent history for any region or province. Being official orders issuing from the Ottoman state, as represented by the central government in Istanbul, they are primarily concerned with attending to immediate problems and, where they touch on the broader historical background of a particular problem, it is only for the

4. See, for example, my articles, 'The Ottoman Invasion of the Shuf (1585): A Reconsideration', *Al-Abhath* 33 (1985): 13–21; 'The Korkmaz Question: A Maronite Historian's Plea for Ma'nid Legitimacy', *Al-Abhath* 34 (1986): 3–11; 'Khalidi on Fakhr al-Din: History as Apology', *Al-Abhath* 41 (1993): 3–15; 'Duwayhi as a Historian of Ottoman Syria', *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* (Amman) 1, no. 1 (1999): 1–13.

purpose of providing summary explanation. The documents were copied into registers and preserved for administrative reference, rather than with an eye for their possible future use as source material for the writing of history. Otherwise, their historical content would have been more elaborate, leaving no matter historically unexplained.

The information yielded by these documents, as they stand, is eminently useful for filling certain gaps in the historical knowledge of Ottoman affairs, providing answers to a number of specific and unanswered questions as well as broader questions unanswerable from other sources. But the documents do not, in any way, provide the general picture, whose broad lines are only traceable from the writings of contemporary or near-contemporary historians, Ottoman or local. And where the works of such contemporaries are not sufficient for the purpose, the historian, using the *Mühimme* documents alone, can do little more than attempt an educated guess as to what the historical reality was in relation to what these documents have to say.

One of many apparent exceptions to this observation, where the history of Ottoman Lebanon is concerned, is the detailed and almost continuous chronicling that the *Mühimme* documents provide of Druze insubordination from as early as the 1540s to the closing years of the seventeenth century. This, in fact, is in keeping with the tendency of the *Mühimme* documents to highlight the immediate and the problematic, for the Druze rebellion created a long-lasting emergency situation that was naturally reflected in them. The detailed chronicling in this particular case stands in sharp contrast to the almost complete silence that local sources maintain on the subject, the single exception being the references to Fakhr al-Din Ma‘n’s rebellion in the local literature of the Lebanon and, more so, in the literature of Damascus.

In this context, Ottoman actions and their causes become more readily understandable than they would otherwise be if one relied solely on the explanations offered by local sources for the same actions.[5] But the documents in question have to be used with caution.

5. An example of this is the explanation offered by local sources for the Ottoman invasion of the Shuf in 1585. Duwayhi, the first local historian to mention the invasion, attributes it to the theft of the Egyptian tribute being conveyed to Istanbul, a tribute that was actually delivered in full. The *Mühimme* documents, however, make it abundantly clear that such an action was long in the making because of unabating Druze insubordination. For more on this particular invasion, see A. Abu-Husayn, ‘The Ottoman Invasion of the Shuf in 1585’.

What the *Umur-i Mühimme Defteri* preserve are not the originals of these documents, but copies made by scribes, not all of whom were particularly careful, conscientious or knowledgeable regarding the regions to which the documents referred. At times, such scribes tended to be confused when citing place names and personal names. Failing to read a name properly, they often spelt it incorrectly, or omitted it entirely, leaving a blank space. By contrast, in some of the documents relating to Lebanon, it is the authors of the original documents and not the scribes who confused the religious and sectarian affiliations of individuals or groups to whom reference is made. For example, figures well known to have been Sunnite Muslims are sometimes referred to as Druzes and deprecated for so being. This may be attributed to the notoriety that the Druzes acquired as a particularly rebellious community, so that all rebellious individuals or groups were referred to as Druzes, possibly as a pejorative term without regard to their true religious affiliation. Furthermore, it is apparently the original documents, rather than the copies, which sometimes refer to individuals only by their first names, or only by their surnames, leaving the reader uncertain about the historical identity of such individuals. In other instances, the names of several individuals are mentioned only once, in the opening statement of the order, after which they are all referred pronominally as 'he', or as the *mezbur*, meaning the 'aforesaid', or 'aforementioned', leaving the reader to guess from the context who the *mezbur* was in each case.

In the final analysis, these are minor shortcomings which do not detract from the value of the *Mühimme* documents as primary sources of the first importance for the study, not only of the history of Lebanon, but of Ottoman Syria in general, not to mention the other present-day states which were once included in the Ottoman Empire. This fact was recognized by scholars long before the Ottoman archives became accessible; since then, a considerable number of studies and monographs have been published based on material derived from the different registers that these archives preserve, including the *Umur-i Mühimme Defteri*.

One such publication, and an early one, was Uriel Heyd's *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552–1615: A Study of the Firman According to the Mühimme Defteri* (Oxford, 1960). In this work, Professor Heyd, of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, presented English summary translations of a selection of *Mühimme* documents relating to the history of the territory of

mandatory Palestine during the first century (or rather, the second half of the first century) of the Ottoman period. As there was then no clear and distinct line of separation between territories that would today be classified as Palestinian or Lebanese, some of the documents presented in Heyd's work bear on the history of early Ottoman Lebanon. When Professor Heyd's work was published, the *Mühimme Defter*s were still little known and used, so Heyd had to devote a full section of his work to explain what they were, describing their contents in considerable detail. What he said on the subject, now common knowledge among specialists, need not be duplicated or elaborated upon here, beyond what has already been noted. What this book will do, rather, in the manner of Heyd, is present full English renderings of the *Mühimme* documents bearing on the history of Lebanon, going beyond Heyd's time limit of 1615 to end in 1711, the year in which the Shihab regime in Lebanon was firmly consolidated – a development that finds no echo in the *Mühimme* documents.

The documents presented in this book are grouped into seven sections, to make them more readily understandable in the Lebanese, Syrian and Ottoman historical contexts. In five of the sections, the grouping is geographical, according to region – the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut (the *eyelet* of Sidon as of 1660); the *sancak/eyalet* of Tripoli; the *nahiye*s of Baalbek, the Biqa‘ and Wadi al-Taym; and the *sancak* of Safad. In the remaining two sections, it is topical: the first treating Ottoman imperial campaigns (*sefer-i hümayun*) on the European and Persian fronts and their repercussions on the Syrian scene, especially with respect to Lebanon; the second concentrating on the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca and the financial and military obligations that this annual pilgrimage imposed on Lebanon. In each section the material is grouped into sections suggested by the contents of the documents; within each of these sections, the material is arranged chronologically. Naturally, the documents themselves, in most cases, touch on the affairs of more than one administrative or territorial unit, or on more than one issue. Also, copies of some documents were addressed to more than one person in different regions. I have here classified such documents on the basis of the principal relevance of the information that they yield in the context of the categories mentioned above.

The picture that the *Mühimme* documents present of Lebanon between the mid-sixteenth century and the early eighteenth is at considerable variance with what has traditionally been imagined or written about the subject in

standard histories of the country. To begin with, these documents nowhere recognize a geographic unit of any kind called Lebanon, let alone a political or administrative unit by this name. What they do recognize are different *eyalet*s, *sancak*s, or *nahiye*s of different *sancaks* in the territory that is today Lebanon, some answering to Damascus, others to Tripoli or Sidon. Also, central personalities and themes of Lebanese history, as traditionally conceived and related, are either depicted differently in the documents in question, or are totally absent from their contents. The figure of the Druze emir, Fakhr al-Din Ma'n (d. 1635), is one example. Glorified in traditional Lebanese histories and in history textbooks as the heroic Lebanese prince and patriot upon whom the Ottomans officially conferred the title of *sultan al-barr*, or Sultan of the Open Country, in recognition of his pre-eminent standing, the same Fakhr al-Din emerges from the *Mühimme* documents as a Syrian provincial governor whose relations with the Ottomans, like those of many of his contemporaries, had their ups and downs, and who was at no time accorded an Ottoman rank above that of *sancakbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut and Safad. While it is known from local sources, as from Ottoman chronicles, that Fakhr al-Din embarked on a career of expansion between 1618 and 1633, which gained him unofficial control of a Syrian territory far larger than the *sancak*s of which he was officially the governor, no *Mühimme* document anywhere refers to him as *sultan al-barr*, or hints that any title other than *sancakbeyi* was ever conferred upon him, or claimed by him.

Another case in point is the Qaysi–Yemeni factionalism among the Lebanese Druzes, of which historians have hitherto made much issue and on the basis of which so much of the history of Lebanon during the first two centuries of the Ottoman period has traditionally been explained. The *Mühimme* documents do allude to this Qaysi–Yemeni factionalism in reference to different parts of Syria, but make no such allusions in reference to the Druze country in Mount Lebanon.

In many instances, the same documents provide important information that is unavailable from traditional sources. Here, the career of Ahmad Ma'n (died 1697), the grandnephew of Fakhr al-Din and the last member of the dynasty, provides an excellent example. This Druze emir was the *mültezim* of the mountain *nahiye*s of the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut for 30 years and a contemporary and personal friend of the Maronite patriarch and historian, Istifan al-Duwayhi. Duwayhi's chronicle, *Tarikh al-azmina,* is the primary source for the period of Ahmad Ma'n's active political career. Yet, the

figure of the emir on the pages of this chronicle – as in all other available local sources – is a shadowy one: that of a mountain governor who inherited his position for lack of another candidate and whose career was almost totally uneventful.

A completely different picture of the man emerges from the pages of the *Umur-i Mühimme Defteri*. Here, the documents depict him as an ambitious, crafty and elusive scoundrel whom the Ottomans repeatedly tried but failed to capture and bring to justice. The man, it appears, took advantage of the military embarrassments of the Ottomans on the Hungarian front (1683–99) to stage a rebellion against Ottoman authority in his own Druze country and to instigate similar rebellions in other areas nearby. Unlike his great-uncle and predecessor, Fakhr al-Din, who was finally captured by the Ottomans, taken to Istanbul and put to death, Ahmad Maʻn somehow managed to elude capture and one learns from Duwayhi's chronicle that he died in bed.

Following the death of Ahmad Maʻn, the Shihabs took control of the government of Mount Lebanon. According to traditional accounts, the Sunnite Shihabs, who came to be related to the Druze Maʻns through intermarriage, were formally appointed governing emirs of the Druze country and Kisrawan by the Ottomans, after being formally elected to the position by local notables meeting in a conclave. The *Mühimme* documents mention no such election. But an awareness of the immediate background of Ahmad Maʻn's rebellion and the even longer and almost continuous rebellion, spanning much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the Druze mountains makes this succession more comprehensible. The reference to the descendants of Ahmad Maʻn in documents relating to the early Shihabs – such descendants including the ʻAlam al-Dins – also indicate that the Ottoman authorities in Istanbul came to recognize some kind of hereditary succession in the Druze mountain and Kisrawan in a particular line; this even though the early Shihabs are depicted as ordinary *mültezim*s of the mountain *nahiye*s of the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut, much as Ahmad Maʻn had been before them, their tenure of the *iltizam* of these *nahiye*s being subject to an annual renewal which was not regularly forthcoming.

There are instances, on the other hand, where the information provided by the *Mühimme* documents confirms and clarifies what is known of Lebanese history of the period from local sources. The question of the origins of the Shiite clan of the Himadahs provides a good example. In the Duwayhi chronicle, these Himadahs are spoken of as a Persian clan, originally from

the Tabriz region, who were brought in to settle the northern reaches of Mount Lebanon, in the vicinity of the Maronite country, by Süleyman the Magnificent, following the first conquest of Baghdad in 1524. In the *Mühimme* documents, these same Himadahs are unequivocally referred to as *Kızılbaş*: the name of the heterodox Muslim sect of eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan whose leaders became the founders of the Persian Safavid Empire.

A final word needs to be said about the dating of the documents. In the successive catalogues of the *Başbakanlık Arşivi*, a date is given to each of the *Mühimme* volumes, these dates being generally correct. In some volumes, however, the dates of individual orders are occasionally far removed from the date listed in the catalogue (*MD* 26). Furthermore, while a large number of orders are individually dated, those without dates have traditionally been assigned the date of the order that precedes them. But there are cases where this dating method proves inaccurate (*MD* 5). In the present work, the exact date is provided for individual orders where it is available; otherwise, the general date assigned to the *Mühimme* volume from which the order is taken is indicated in parentheses.

# 1

# Sidon-Beirut

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottomans divided their empire into provinces (singular *eyalet*), each of which was administered by a *beylerbeyi,* or *mirmiran,* and subdivided into administrative regions (singular *sancak*, or *liva*). The *sancak*, headed by a *sancakbeyi*, or *mirliva*, was further divided into administrative districts (singular *kaza*), which were, in turn, subdivided into smaller administrative units (singular *nahiye*) each run by an administrative officer, or *zabit*. In Ottoman Syria, this was the system followed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Initially, the provinces of Ottoman Syria were two: the *eyalet* of Damascus, comprising the territory of the former Mamluk provinces (singular *mamlaka*) of Damascus, Tripoli, Hama, Safad and Karak; and the *eyalet* of Aleppo, comprising the territory of the former Mamluk province of Aleppo. For some months in 1521, however, and then permanently after 1579, the territory of Tripoli, first organized as a *sancak* of the *eyalet* of Damascus, was removed from Damascus and established as a separate *eyalet*. Also, for some months in 1614 and then permanently after 1660, the territory of the former Mamluk province of Safad and the Damascene *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut (formerly the Mamluk Damascene *wilaya* of Sidon and Beirut) were likewise removed from Damascus and established as a separate *eyalet* of Sidon, with the territory of Sidon-Beirut – which is the subject of the present section – remaining a *sancak* in this new *eyalet*. Earlier, in the late sixteenth century, the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut appears to

have changed hands between the province of Tripoli and that of Damascus, according to the *Mühimme* documents.

This *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut comprised the stretch of coast extending approximately 60 kilometres from the gorge of al-Muamalatayn, north of the town of Junieh, to the valley of the Zahrani, south of Sidon, and included the adjacent mountain *nahiye*s of Iqlim al-Kharnub (today, Iqlim al-Kharrub), the Shuf, the Gharb, the Jurd, the Matn and Kisrawan. Of these mountain *nahiye*s, Iqlim al-Kharnub was probably populated mainly by Sunnite Muslims, as it remains today. The Shuf, Gharb, Jurd and Matn were traditionally Druze country, while Kisrawan, long inhabited by Twelver Shiite Muslims, was already being heavily settled by Maronite immigrants from the territory of Tripoli. The dividing line between the Druze and Maronite country was the gorge of the Beirut river, Nahr al-Ja‘mani. As for the towns of Sidon and Beirut, their inhabitants appear to have been predominantly Sunnite Muslim.

Topographically, the mountain *nahiye*s of the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut comprised the fiercely rugged western slopes of the three southernmost ridges of the Lebanon range, which north to south are Jabal Sannin (Kisrawan and the Matn), Jabal al-Kanisah (the Gharb and the Jurd) and Jabal al-Baruk (Iqlim al-Kharnub and the Shuf). The principal roads from Beirut to Damascus, by way of the Biqa‘ valley, run across the mountain cols between these ridges: hence, the special strategic importance of the region. However, the *sancak*'s economic importance – and that of the Druze *nahiye*s, in particular – derived largely from silk production during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was the period in which large numbers of Maronites arrived from the northern parts of the Lebanon to settle in these Druze *nahiye*s and work in sericulture, a fact not reflected in the *Mühimme* documents. The immigration of Maronites, in particular, and other Christians, in general, to the southern Druze regions was perhaps enhanced as a direct consequence of the depopulation that must have occurred in these regions as a result of repeated Ottoman attacks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This is because it was in this *sancak*, more than any other part of Syria, that the Ottomans faced the most serious and longest-running challenge to their authority. As the *Mühimme* documents make abundantly clear, the Druzes were virtually in a continuous state of rebellion. The documents also explain why it was difficult for the state to establish its authority

permanently in the mountainous regions of the *sancak*. In addition to the rugged terrain the Druzes inhabited, they appear also to have been continuously supplied with firearms, which at times were superior to those used by the Ottoman military.

This state of affairs may have prompted the Ottoman authorities to reconsider the administrative status of this particular *sancak*, as the documents indicate they did. Apart from juggling the *sancak* between the provinces of Damascus and Tripoli in the 1590s, it also appears that the *sancak* was earlier turned into what the documents refer to as the *beylerbeyliġ-i vilayet-i Duruz* (*MD* 50, No. 123). There is also reference to the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut (*MD* 50, Nos 797, 978) who must have been appointed to the newly created province since the two references obviously relate to the same place. This apparently took place during the course of the Ottoman invasion of the Druze country or immediately afterwards. In fact, just before this invasion, a local chieftain – perhaps taking advantage of the inability of the Ottomans to establish their authority over the region – offered to take over the *iltizam* of territories under the control of his rivals, Korkmaz Maʻn and another Druze chieftain, if certain conditions were met; one of these was the provision that the territory referred to as *vilayet* be constituted as a *beylerbeylik* (*MD* 50, No. 619). But whatever the circumstances, this measure appears to have been short-lived, for neither subsequent *Mühimme* documents, nor the local literature, identify such a province until 1660.

In the context of this Druze rebellion, the documents also refer to other Druze chieftains who were engaged in rebellious acts, a fact that indicates that Maʻnid leadership of the Druze community was shared by other families, although the Maʻns appear to have been the most prominent and also the most insubordinate (*MD* 5, Nos 565, 1091; *MD* 46, No. 30b).

Within the same context, the documents also refer to members of the house of Maʻn who came over to the Ottoman side in the course of the Ottoman invasion of the Druze country in 1585, as well as other Druze *mukaddem*s, or chieftains, who did the same – such as the Sharaf al-Dins, some of whom were *zaim*s, and the ʻAlam al-Dins, *mukaddem*s of the Matn. Desertion also occurred among the men, presumably the fighters, of the Maʻnid chief at the time, Korkmaz (*MD* 50, Nos 121, 122, 332, 443, 449).

But it is surprising that there are practically no references to Fakr al-Din Maʻn's rebellion, except two incidental references to his flight to Tuscany.

In the *Mühimme* documents, he figures more as the *sancakbeyi* of Safad than as the *sancakbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut.

Because of the constant rebellions in the territory of Sidon-Beirut, the *Mühimme* documents pertaining to this *sancak* are far greater in number and far more detailed in content than documents pertaining to any other part of the territory of Lebanon.

## DRUZE INSUBORDINATION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

As already indicated in the Introduction to this book, the *Mű̈himme* documents offer a picture of Druze–Ottoman relations varying radically from the one offered by the traditional local literature, as by modern scholarship. The assumption has been, so far, that these relations were generally cordial, and that Druze chiefs were the object of trust and recipients of high offices and honours. When Ottoman punitive expeditions where directed against Druze areas, as happened in 1585, and later during the career of Fakhr al-Din Maʿn (1590–1633), such actions have traditionally been explained away as the outcome of local intrigues and false accusations. On the period preceding 1585, as on the period that followed the overthrow of Fakhr al-Din and his execution in Istanbul in 1635, the local literature has hardly anything significant to say, leaving the impression that the Druze parts of the Lebanon during these periods were normally at peace. In the *Mű̈himme* documents, however, Druze–Ottoman relations from the mid-sixteenth century to the early eighteenth are depicted as involving an almost continuous state of open Druze rebellion, countered by repeated Ottoman military retaliation or threats of fierce punitive action.

In 1518, barely two years after the Ottomans took over Syria from the Mamluks, four leading Druze chiefs were actively involved in the revolt of Muhammad Ibn al-Hanash, a Sunnite bedouin chief of the Biqaʿ, which ended with his capture and execution.[1] Venetian trading agents in Syria sent home a succession of detailed reports on this revolt, which aimed at the

1. On this early rebellion, see A. Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575–1650*, Beirut, 1985, 67–9.

restoration of Mamluk rule in the country.[2] Two years later (1520), the 'Franks' (most probably the Venetians) attempted a recapture of Beirut,[3] and the failure of this attempt was followed, in 1523, by the first recorded Ottoman attack on the Druzes of the Shuf mountains, in the hinterland of the city – an attack reported, but not explained, by the contemporary Damascene historian Ibn Tulun. According to him, four loads (presumably camel loads) of Druze heads were paraded in the streets of Damascus to demonstrate the extent of the Druze defeat. Shortly after, Druze religious books, confiscated in the course of this military operation, were also brought to Damascus to serve Sunni Muslim jurists in the city as a basis for denouncing the Druzes as pernicious heretics beyond the pale of Islam – a line the Ottoman state and religious establishment repeatedly invoked to justify punitive action against them.[4]

From the mid-1540s to the mid-1580s Ottoman documents provide detailed information on the continuing Druze insubordination. According to these documents, the challenge to Ottoman authority started in the Druze regions, then spread to neighbouring parts of the Lebanon and Galilee. As well, the Druze rebels, from the mid-1540s, and most probably from an earlier period, began to present a more serious threat to the state as they started acquiring large quantities of firearms, which were, at times, superior in quality to those used by the Ottoman troops. As the Ottoman documents indicate, no taxes could be collected from the Druze areas under the

2. On Ibn al-Hanash and his short-lived rebellion and the Venetian interest in it, see F. Hours and K. Salibi, 'Muhammad ibn al-Hanash, Muqaddam de la Biqa', 1499–1518', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 43 (1968), 3–23; for an assessment of Ibn al-Hanash's local standing, see M. A. al-Bakhit, 'The Role of the Hanash Family and the Tasks Assigned to It in the Countryside of Dimashq al-Sham, 790/1388–976/1568: A Documentary Study', in T. Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* (Beirut, 1984), 257–89.
3. Sh. M. ibn Tulun, *Mufakahat al-Khillan fi Hawadith al-Zaman*, ed. M. Mustafa (Cairo, 1962–64), vol. 2, 122–3. A shorter version of the same account is found in another work by Ibn Tulun, *I'lam al-Wara fi man Waliya Na'iban min al-Atrak bi Dimashq al-Kubra*, ed. M. Dahman (Damascus, 1964), 231; hereafter, *'Ilam.*
4. Ibn Tulun, *Sall al-Sarim 'ala Atba' al-Hakim*, Taymuriyya Library MS no. 79, ff. 247–60. *'Ilam,* 241; an almost continuous succession of ulema continued to uphold the *fatwa* of the Hanbalite jurist Ibn Taymiyya throughout the sixteenth century, Muhammad Ibn Jum'a', *Kitab al-Bashat wa al-Qudat* (edited by S. al-Munajjid along with other texts and published in Damascus in 1949 under the title *Wulat Dimashq fi al-'Asr al-'Uthmani*), 6–7.

circumstances, and Ottoman administrative control of these areas ceased to be possible. The same documents also speak of repeated Ottoman–Druze military encounters in different Druze regions; also, of joint attacks against the Druze country by naval and land forces from different Ottoman provinces, when the Ottoman forces in Damascus proved unable to suppress the ongoing Druze rebellion on their own. Nonetheless, the Druze resistance to state control continued unabated, and the Druze areas were still in a state of open rebellion in 1583, 1584 and 1585. Among the Druze chiefs, Korkmaz Ma‘n, the father of Fakhr al-Din, was singled out as the worst of the rebels.

Additionally, two *Műhimme* documents refer to a Damascene merchant who was accused at the time of supplying the Druzes with muskets, gunpowder and bullets. The same merchant was further accused of trading with ‘Frankish’ ships, supplying them with wheat and other commodities. An order was issued to have the man exiled to Rhodes.[5]

In 1585, Ibrahim Pasha, the outgoing *beylerbeyi* of Egypt, attacked the Druze country in full force, and order was restored to the Druze regions, albeit only for a time. Firearms were confiscated, tax arrears were collected, and a large number of Druzes were killed in the course of the operation – among them Korkmaz Ma‘n who died while fleeing before the attackers. By all accounts, Arab and Ottoman, the size of the 1585 expedition was massive. A whole *Műhimme* register (*MD* 50) is devoted to listing the grants made by Ibrahim Pasha to officers and men who distinguished themselves in some way in the campaign. (See Appendix for the grants where the Druzes are explicitly mentioned.)

Traditional Lebanese historiography explains the Ibrahim Pasha expedition as a consequence of the robbery of the Egyptian tribute along the Lebanese coast north of Tripoli while on its way to Istanbul earlier in the year, and of Korkmaz Ma‘n and his Druze followers being falsely accused of responsibility for this act of banditry.[6] This explanation must have originated in a lame attempt to gloss over the real issue so as to cover up for the Ma‘ns. The contemporary sources, however, Ottoman, Damascene and Italian, affirm that the Egyptian tribute for 1585 was received in Istanbul in

5. *MD* 42, no. 273, dated 25 July 1581; and *MD* 49, no. 443, dated 10 July 1583.
6. Istifan al-Duwayhi, *Tarikh al-Azmina*, ed. F. Taoutel, Beirut, 1951, 284; Haydar al-Shihabi, *Tarikh al-Amir Haydar Ahmad al-Shihabi*, Cairo, 1900, 618–19; Tannus al-Shidyaq, *Akhbar al-A`yan fi jabal Lubnan*, ed. F. Bustani, Beirut, 1970, 251–2.

full, and provide detailed descriptions of its contents. Of these sources, the Ottoman and the Damascene explain the massive attack waged on the Druze country in that year as a consequence of the continued insubordination of its people since the early sixteenth century; which confirms what the *Műhimme* documents relate.[7]

Remarkably, no reports exist of any Druze rebellion under the Mamluks who preceded the Ottomans in the rule of Syria. Until the coming of the Ottomans, the Druze chiefs of the Gharb region, in the mountain hinterland of Beirut, had actually cooperated with the Mamluk state and rendered it invaluable military service. In compensation, these chiefs had been rewarded with land grants, privileges and honours; they were also allowed to profit from commercial transactions in the Beirut seaport, which they helped defend.[8] In Syria, as in Egypt, the economy of the Mamluk state depended largely on the trade with Venice, for which Beirut was a leading seaport. Following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (1453) and the Ottoman expansion in Rumelia and the Aegean and Black Sea basins, the Venetians lost their trading stations in those areas, so that the commercial importance of Syria for Venice was further enhanced.

The Levantine trade of Venice had originally been mainly dependent on the spices of the Orient. By the fifteenth century, it became more diversified; and following the Portuguese discovery of the direct sea route to the spice lands of the Indian Ocean basin, Venetian traders in Syria turned increasingly from spice imports to locally produced commodities, particularly Syrian wheat, and more so Syrian cotton over which they came to acquire a virtual monopoly. Consequently, the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516–17 must have come as a devastating blow to the commercial interests of Venice, as it threatened to deprive it of a major

7. On this Ottoman punitive action against the Druzes, its causes and what contemporary Arab, Ottoman and European sources say about it, see A. Abu-Husayn, 'The Ottoman Invasion of the Shuf in 1585: A Reconsideration', *Al-Abhath*, 33 (1985), 13–21.
8. Salih ibn Yahya, *Tarikh Bayrut*, ed. F. Hours and K. Salibi (Beirut, 1969); quoted in K. Salibi, *Muntalaq Tarikh Lubnan* (Beirut, 1979), 144; K. Salibi, 'Mount Lebanon under the Mamluks', in S. Seikaly et al. (eds), *Quest for Understanding: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Malcolm H. Kerr*, Beirut, 1991, 27–30.

source of supplies as well as of markets.[9] The Syrian beneficiaries in their trade must have felt equally threatened, and among those were the Druzes of the Beirut hinterland – the chiefs along with their followers. Small wonder, then, that four leading Druze chiefs joined Ibn al-Hanash in his anti-Ottoman revolt of 1518, and that the Ottomans staged their first attack against the Druze country in 1523, following the failed 'Frankish' (and seemingly Venetian) attempt to capture the seaport of Beirut – an attempt, one suspects, that could have received some measure of Druze support.

From their base in Cyprus, which they occupied in the late fifteenth century and maintained until 1570, the Venetians could easily keep their Druze and other Syrian friends supplied with firearms, which is what the *Műhimme* documents affirm. The two documents referring to a Damascene merchant accused of supplying firearms to the Druzes and wheat and other commodities to 'Frankish' (presumably Venetian) ships in the early 1580s indicate that Venice, after losing Cyprus to the Ottomans in 1570, did manage to continue supplying her Syrian friends with ordnance for a time, in exchange for local commodities, albeit on a reduced scale. Before long, however, increased Ottoman vigilance must have brought this exchange to a stop, which would account for the defeat of the Druzes by Ibrahim Pasha in 1585, and the relative peace that prevailed thereafter until the first open break between Fakhr al-Din Ma'n and the Ottomans in 1613.

By then, the general weakening of the Venetian Republic had opened the way for another Italian power, Tuscany, to aspire for the control of Ottoman Syria. And the Tuscans, like the Venetians, angled for local support among the Druzes and other disgruntled Syrian elements. In 1605–7, a Kurdish chief of the Aleppo region, in northern Syria, revolted against Ottoman rule, and Fakhr al-Din Ma'n, then *sancakbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut and Safad, openly supported his revolt, despite Ottoman orders to the contrary. This revolt, which ended in failure, marks the beginning of Tuscan involvement in the internal affairs of Syria. Until then, the Tuscans had been conducting piratical attacks against Ottoman shipping and naval outposts in different parts of the Mediterranean basin. Once Ali Janbulad had started his revolt in

9. E. Ashtor, 'The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly or Pre-Colonialism', *Journal of European Economic History*, 3 (1974), 5–53; and 'The Venetian Cotton Trade in Syria in the Later Middle Ages', *Studia Medievali*, 17 (1976), 675–715; F. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore and London, 1973), 305–7; also E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 447–8.

Aleppo, Tuscany, in alliance with the Roman papacy, hastened to provide him with political and material support.[10]

The Roman Catholic powers in Europe, along with the papacy, had been much emboldened by their naval victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto (1571), which, according to Fernand Braudel, may be seen as 'the end of a genuine inferiority complex on the part of Christendom' and a historical turning point that 'seemed to open the door to the wildest hopes'.[11] In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the Medici of Tuscany and the papacy began to entertain the idea of a Christian reconquest of Cyprus, to use the island as a base for joint action against the Ottomans in Syria, particularly in connection with a project for the reconquest of the Holy Land.

During the rule of the ambitious and well-connected Grand Duke Ferdinand I (1587–1609), Tuscany, politically and commercially a leading Italian power, was particularly well poised to play an active role in Ottoman Syria. Ferdinand I had close relations with Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605), and the pope 'supported Tuscan objectives in the Middle East'[12] by pursuing an aggressive anti-Ottoman policy. (For example, the pope gave specific permission for Christian governments to supply arms to regions such as Syria to enable Christians and heterodox Muslim communities to rise against the Ottomans.)[13] Adding to the anti-Ottoman stance of the Tuscans was the fact that they did not enjoy capitulation privileges with the Ottomans, as did Venice, France and other European states; accordingly, Tuscan trade with the Ottoman lands was at a disadvantage, the transactions it involved having to be processed through French intermediaries.[14]

After the failure of the 'Ali Janbulad revolt in 1607, the Tuscans began to pin their hopes on his former ally Fakhr al-Din Ma'n, who had somehow escaped punishment for his role in that revolt. They regarded this Druze chief as being potentially the ideal ally to help them realize their Syrian

10. On the 'Ali Janbulad rebellion and its Tuscan connection, see B. Qara'li, *'Ali Basha Junblat, Wali Halab* (Beirut, 1939); W. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000–1020/1591–1611* (Berlin, 1983).
11. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York, 1973), 1103; hereafter, Braudel.
12. Griswold, 83.
13. P. Carali, *Fakhr ad-din II, Principe del Libano, e la Corte di Toscana: 1605–1635* (Rome, 1936), vol. 1, 117, as quoted in Griswold, 83; hereafter, Carali.
14. Griswold, 82–3.

schemes. By 1605 Ferdinand I and Pope Clement VIII had already established initial contacts with Fakhr al-Din.[15] From their point of view, the Druze emir had the special advantage of being on excellent terms with the Maronites in his territory and its neighbourhood; and the Maronites, as Uniate Christians who also had a presence in Cyprus, could be readily counted upon to support Roman Catholic projects for conquest in the Levant. Immediately following the defeat of ʻAli Janbuland and his flight from Aleppo, a Tuscan delegation arrived in Sidon in 1607 to meet Fakhr al-Din and conclude with him a treaty promising him whatever military assistance he needed in return for his support of their plans. In the course of the negotiations, Fakhr al-Din insisted that the pope issue an order to all his Eastern Christian followers requiring them to come to the emir's assistance whenever their help was requested. This condition was met. In precaution, the emir asked for and received permission to seek refuge in Tuscany should the need arise.[16]

(It is important to mention, at this point, that in dealing with Fakhr al-Din in particular, and the Maʻns in general, the Maronite patriarch and historian Istifan al-Duwayhi (d. 1704), who certainly had access to the correspondence between his predecessors and both the papacy and the grand dukes of Tuscany, maintains a seemingly deliberate silence on the whole issue of Maʻnid–Tuscan relations and on the Maronite role in the Tuscan projects for conquest of Cyprus and the Holy Land.[17] Likewise, the personal historian of Fakhr al-Din, Ahmad al-Khalidi of Safad, a contemporary eyewitness to the events of the first three decades of the seventeenth century, totally avoids mention of the emir's alliance with Tuscany, portraying the subsequent conflicts between Fakhr al-Din and the Ottomans as the consequence of petty intrigues by the emir's opponents, both locally and at the Ottoman court.)[18]

The behaviour of Fakhr al-Din after 1607 aroused Ottoman suspicions, and a military campaign was sent against him in 1613, forcing him to take

15. B. Qara'li, Fakhr al-Din al-Maʻni al-Thani Hakim Lubnan wa Dawlat Tuskana, Beirut, 1992, 160.
16. For the full text of the treaty, see Qara'li, 171–2.
17. On Duwayhi as a historian, see A. Abu-Husayn, 'Duwayhi as a Historian of Ottoman Syria', *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies*, 1, 1999, 1–13.
18. On Khalidi, see A. Abu-Husayn, 'Khalidi on Fakhr al-Din: Apology as History', *Al-Abhath*, 39 (1993), 3–15.

flight to Tuscany. Pardoned by the Ottomans five years later, he returned home to embark on a phenomenal career of territorial expansion, which made him the master of the greater part of rural Syria, nominally as a vassal of the Porte. But his secret dealings with Tuscany and the papacy continued, as did Ottoman suspicions of him. By 1633 the Ottoman state could no longer tolerate his growing power and took action against him once again, which resulted this time in his defeat and capture, and his execution in Istanbul in 1635.

Ma‘nid–Tuscan relations, however, were to outlive Fakhr al-Din. Following his death, his Druze leadership passed to his nephew Mulhim, the only local survivor of the house of Ma‘n. (The only other survivor of this house, Fakhr al-Din's youngest son Husayn, was to spend his whole adult life as a court official in Istanbul.) To save Mulhim Ma‘n from capture by the Ottomans, Ferdinand II of Tuscany dispatched a galleon for his rescue; but the emir, then in hiding, could not be located.[19]

The Tuscans continued to entertain plans for the conquest of Cyprus and Syria, with the Ma‘ns, their Druze partisans and the Maronites as the cornerstone of these plans.[20] Meanwhile, the Ottomans allowed Mulhim Ma‘n to assume control of the Shuf, Gharb, Jurd, Matn and Kisrawan districts of Lebanon as a *mültezim*. According to the contemporary Damascene biographer Muhibbi, Mulhim slept during the day and stayed awake at night for fear of assassination, as had his ancestors.[21] Mulhim had one major encounter with the Ottomans in 1642, when he fought and defeated the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus, Mustafa Pasha.[22] According to Muhibbi, he was otherwise 'fully obedient to the sultanate'.[23] The Damascene biographer's

19. Qara'li produces the letters written by Maronite chiefs in connection with this; see Qara'li, 358–64.
20. Qara'li, 365–7.
21. M. A. ibn Fadlallah al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-Athar fi A‘yan al-Qarn al-Hadi ‘Ashar* (hereafter, Muhibbi), vol. 4, 408–9. The English traveller, Henry Maundrell, who passed through Beirut in March 1697, also makes the same observation regarding the Ma‘nid practice of sleeping by day and staying awake by night. According to him, they did so 'lest the darkness, aided by their sleeping, should give traitors both opportunity and encouragement to assault their person, by a dagger or a pistol, to make them continue their sleep longer than they intended when they lay down'. See Henry Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (Beirut, 1963), 57–8.
22. Muhibbi, vol. 4, 396.
23. Muhibbi, vol. 4, 409.

assessment appears to be generally accurate, especially if one compares the career of Mulhim Ma'n with that of his uncle Fakhr al-Din, or his son Ahmad (see below); apart from his confrontation with Mustafa Pasha of Damascus, no anti-Ottoman actions by him are reported in any of the local, Ottoman or European sources.[24] Nonetheless, the Tuscans continued to monitor carefully the situation in Lebanon in his time through envoys, and also through correspondence with Maronite prelates and notables, which showered praise on the Ma'nid emir for pursuing his uncle's policy of protecting the Maronite church and community.[25] While Emir Mulhim, as far as one can tell to date, is not known to have corresponded directly with Tuscany or any other European power, his Maronite protégés invariably made a point of conveying his regards to the Tuscan and papal courts in their correspondence.[26]

Mulhim died in 1658 and was survived by two sons, Ahmad and Korkmaz. The claim of the two Ma'nid emirs to paramount Druze leadership was challenged by other Ottoman-backed Druze parties, and in the course of the struggle Korkmaz was treacherously killed by the Ottoman *beylerbeyi* of Damascus in 1662 – so according to Duwayhi.[27] Meanwhile, the Ottomans had separated the *sancak*s of Sidon-Beirut and Safad from the province of Damascus in 1660 to reorganize their territories as the province of Sidon (as had happened once before in 1614). From the Ottoman perspective, this arrangement was intended to bring Druze areas under direct and, it was hoped, more effective state control. Locally, however, the arrangement was interpreted as an attempt on the part of the Ottomans 'to break the arm of the Arabs (*awlad al-Arab*)'.[28] By 1667, however, Ahmad Ma'n, having prevailed over his Druze rivals, had managed to establish himself as the paramount *mültezim* in the Druze country.[29] Thereupon, he and his Maronite advisers resumed correspondence with Tuscany. (The published correspondence contains no indication of any plans of action against

24. On these early conflicts, which involved Mulhim, see Abu-Husayn, *Provincial*, 59, 127.
25. Qara'li, 370–3.
26. See Qara'li, 369–73.
27. On these power struggles and rebellions, see Duwayhi, 357–60.
28. Duwayhi, 359.
29. Duwayhi, 363.

the Ottomans.)[30] The Ottoman–Habsburg war of 1683–99, however, provided Ahmad Ma‘n with the opportunity to resume the anti-Ottoman Ma‘nid activity of his great uncle's time. The Druze emir, summoned along with other Ottoman functionaries in Syria to participate in the 'holy war' (*gaza*) against the Habsburgs, refused to do so. Instead, he joined the Shiite Himadahs of the Jubayl district (described by the *Mühimme* documents as *kızılbaş*) and became the leader of a large scale revolt against the Ottomans lasting until his natural death, without male heirs to succeed him, in 1697. The Ottomans repeatedly instructed their governors in different Syrian provinces to have him removed from office as *mültezim*, captured and executed, but he invariably managed to evade arrest. The extent to which the Ahmad Ma‘n rebellion could have received external support cannot be determined on the basis of published European documentation. The motive for such support, however, was certainly there.[31]

It thus appears that the Druze rebellion against the Ottomans, certainly until 1633 and probably to the very end, was fuelled to a large extent by European designs upon Syria. In the sixteenth-century phase of the rebellion, Venice played the leading European role. In the seventeenth-century phase, 'upstarts' such as Tuscany replaced 'giants' such as Venice not only as pirate powers in the Mediterranean, as Braudel suggests,[32] but still more as sponsors of much bolder designs, as the cases of the Janbulad and the Druze rebellions tend to indicate.

Locally, the insubordination of the Druzes, continuing through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, paved the way for the establishment of the emirate of the Sunni Shihabs – an arrangement begun by local Druze initiative that the Ottomans, finally rid of the indomitable Ma‘ns, found expedient to accommodate. This was the arrangement that gave to the Shihab *iltizam* of the central and southern parts of Mount Lebanon, from 1697 until 1841, the appearance of a hereditary principality.[33]

30. As published in Qara'li, 374–6.
31. For this rebellion of Ahmad Ma‘n, see Abu-Husayn, 'The Unknown Career of Ahmad Ma‘n', *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 17, 1999, 241–7. Venice was particularly active against the Ottomans in the Balkans in the course of this Habsburg–Ottoman war.
32. Braudel, 865.
33. On the circumstances attending the establishment of the 'Shihab Emirate', see A. Abu-Husayn, 'The Shihab Succession: A Reconsideration', in *Archív Orientálni*, Supplementa VIII, 1998, 9–16.

## Druze Insubordination Before 1585

***MD* 26, No. 101**
Delivered to Perviz Kethüda on 2 (3?) Rabi‘ II, 953/2 (3) June 1546
Order (*hüküm*) to the *beylerbeyi* of Aleppo:

The *beylerbeyi* of Damascus has sent a letter explaining that an order was issued to collect muskets (*tüfenk*) from the Druzes. He informs me that when he demanded compliance, they refused to obey and rebelled instead. In order to subdue them, you are to march against them with [any] available troops. Should you need troops from nearby *sancak*s, inform me so that they may be sent. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you march against the aforesaid group (*taife*), as indicated in my noble firman; if you need assistance from nearby *sancakbeyi*s, these should respond without delay. When the [additional] troops are provided, you are to supply them [with provisions and ordinance] and dispatch them. Exert the utmost effort in this matter. You and your soldiers, participating in this campaign, will be the objects of my attention to the extent that you prove worthy of it. On the basis of the above, everyone is bound to perform [this service] and exert himself. If the musketeers (*tüfenkendaz*) request infantry (*piyade*), write to the men of the fortresses to send you such.

Copy to the *beylerbeyi* of Zulkadir.

Copy to the *beylerbeyi* of Diyarbekir.

The aforementioned asks for infantry with muskets. You are to send a sufficient number from the Kurdish community (*taife*) and the men of the fortresses.

***MD* 5, No. 565**
(Early Muharram 972–late Dhu al-Hijja 972/1564–65)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

You have sent a letter [in which you explain] that the people of ‘Ayn Dara, in the *nahiye* of Jurd, in the *kaza* of Beirut, in the province of Damascus, of the imperial domain (*havas-ı hümayun*), have rebelled and refused to pay the taxes and fees [*hukuk ve rüsum*] due from them. Earlier, on 21 Dhu al-Qada 972, assisted by the villains [*müfsidler*] who are said to be among their leaders, Muhammad ibn Sidi, also known as Abu ‘Aram, and Yusuf ibn

Harfush,[34] they attacked the residence of the *sipahi*, Muhammad ibn Hanash, who is in charge of tax collection. In that attack a large number of men were killed [and] the aforementioned Yusuf and Abu ʻAram arrested, while the rest fled. The disorder (*fitne ve fesad*) ended. But, since 28 Safar 973,[35] the people of the aforesaid village, along with people of the village of Mtayn, led by villains who persist in rebellion – Hashim, his brother, Muhammad, and Solak oğlu Qaytbay – have rebelled again and attacked the residence of the aforementioned Muhammad [ibn al-Hanash]. After some serious fighting, the Druzes were defeated and a large number of them were killed.

[You have also reported that] in addition to their refusal to pay taxes, they also cause trouble as described and possess large numbers of muskets (*tüfenk*). [You have further said that] the Druzes in that region possess more than three to four thousand muskets and that these muskets are long, capable of firing seven or eight *dirhem*s of pellets (*fındık*) and are superior to the muskets that you have; thus, they have the upper hand. If they are not dealt with, the trouble [that they cause] and evil deeds [that they do] will recommence.

[You have also reported that] the village called Maʻbad, which is a fief belonging to the *sancakbeyi* (*has-ı mirliva*) of Nablus, has become a safe haven for bandits who attack the roads in Safad, Lajjun, Gaza and Jerusalem. You reported that the *sancakbeyi* and the *kadı* have advised their removal.

I have commanded that you act properly regarding this matter and do all that is possible to arrest the troublemakers and remove them in any way, [in order] to serve as a lesson to others and protect the subjects against the harm that they cause. But, while doing this, you have to be fully alert and not interfere or enter into conflict with those who are not involved, or commit an inappropriate act during a moment of inattention. The guns are now being prepared to be sent to Tripoli.

**_MD_ 5, No. 1091**

(Early Muharram 972–late Dhu al-Hijja 972/1564–65)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

34. Both belong to well-known Druze families.
35. Notwithstanding the date generally indicated for *Muhimme* register no. 5, the dates cited within the document indicate clearly that the order was issued later in the subsequent year, 973/1565.

You have sent a letter in which you explain that when you dispatched a number of men [soldiers] to arrest the villainous thief called Hashim who commits abominable acts (*fesad ve şenaat*) in Damascus (*Şam*),[36] his brother and some of his followers were arrested, but he escaped and hid among the Druzes. When you subsequently demanded that he be surrendered to you, they [the Druzes] refused to comply and gave him sanctuary in one of [their] villages. When you sent some men [soldiers] to arrest him, Sharaf al-Din, the *mukaddem* of the said *nahiye,* and his followers caused havoc and destruction, then gathered hundreds of men armed with muskets and bayonets (*süngü*). A fierce battle ensued, but they did not surrender the aforementioned Hashim. You were, however, able in some way to capture Sharaf al-Din and imprison him in the citadel of Damascus. He is wanted in a number of cases involving murder (*kan*) and other charges (*hukuk*). Most of the people of the *nahiye,* which is part of [the *sancak*] of Sidon-Beirut, are well trained in the use of muskets and all have abandoned their [usual] occupations for this [reason]. You have also reported that there are more than one thousand muskets in the *nahiye* of Matn and that the presence of such a [large] number of muskets in the possession of evil-doers living close to the coast is a source of danger. You have asked permission to execute the prisoner, Sharaf al-Din, to serve as a lesson to others. On the basis of this, I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you execute the aforementioned Sharaf al-Din, as you requested, and collect all the muskets from those subjects who, like him, possess them, prohibiting them from their use afterwards.

***MD* 26, No. 488**
10 Jumada I, 982/28 August 1574
Given to Perviz Kethüda
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

You sent a letter in which you reported that the Druze community is in possession of large quantities of muskets. [Consequently,] my noble order was issued, instructing you to collect these muskets for the state (*miri*) wherever they existed [and whether] in the hands of the Druzes or others. [However,] when letters were sent, in accordance with my honourable order, to Korkmaz ibn Ma‘n, Mansur ibn ‘Assaf, Sharaf al-Din and Qasim Shihab, and Qayt-

36. *Şam* here refers to the territory of the province of Damascus at large.

bay, *mukaddem*s[37] of the Druze community, and to other *mukaddem*s, they responded by saying that they had no muskets.

[Also,] the villages of the *nahiye*s of the Jurd, the Matn, the Gharb and Shuf al-Bayad have owed taxes in arrears for more then twenty years, which they avoid paying. Earlier, the *miralay* of Damascus was dispatched to them and was able to collect one thousand gold pieces. Later, your *kethüda* was sent and received from their shaykhs forty to fifty muskets; [however,] when he asked for the rest, they answered that none existed. But the value of the muskets they possess is estimated at fifteen to twenty gold pieces each. They also procrastinate in paying their tax arrears; your *kethüda* has collected seven thousand [gold pieces of the total amount and deemed it] impossible to collect more.

You have [also] reported to me that it is not possible to collect the muskets without a noble order instructing you to collect two muskets from every household (*hane*) and one thousand muskets from each of ibn Ma‘n, Sharaf al-Din, ibn Shihab and Qaytbay. Should they resist, you are to march against them with your troops and discipline whomsoever may disobey. Thus, I have command that you proceed as you suggested and ask each household to surrender one musket by way of *avariz*, as dictated by the needs [of the state]. Since the so-called *mukaddem* [Mansur] ‘Assaf earlier acquired a large number of muskets from Cyprus, you are to demand that he surrender two thousand muskets. [Regarding] ibn Ma‘n, Shihab al-Din [ibn Shihab], Sharaf al-Din and Qaytbay, you are to demand that each of them surrender one thousand muskets. As for the other chieftains (*mukademler*), you must demand that they surrender the number [of muskets] you deem appropriate. If they refuse and resist surrendering the muskets in accordance with my noble firman, whether they are *mukaddem*s, other Druzes, or [still] others, you are to arrest them. In order to discipline them, noble orders have been sent to the *beylerbeyis* of Diyarbekir, Aleppo and Zulkadiriyya [instructing them] to assist you in this regard. You are to take the necessary measures against those who do not obey my noble order. March against the group or community whose disobedience is established and discipline them by means of coordination and good preparation. In this connection, the *zaim*s, timariots and janissaries – all of the troops that are with you in my imperial service and who exert themselves – will be the

37. Mansur ‘Assaf and Qasim Shihab were actually Sunnites.

object of my exalted imperial attention. Each of them will get what he deserves for his service.

***MD* 26, No. 614**
1 Jumada II, 982/18 September 1574
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

You have sent a letter informing me in detail of the preparations taken regarding the Druzes. Now, in the *sancak* of Tripoli, near the sea, there are rugged mountains. The aforesaid community (*taife*) is concentrated in the vicinity of [these] rugged mountains and roam in the area; thus, if they are attacked from that direction [the seaward side], they ascend the mountains and fortify themselves there. You have informed me that, to bring them under control, there is a need for troops with muskets. When my vizier Sinan Pasha arrives with the imperial navy (*donanma-yı hümayun*), an order has been issued that he should proceed to the region to discipline the aforesaid community. But since the soldiers on the ships are in need of provisions, you are to prepare and bring to the port of Tripoli and nearby areas a sufficient quantity of provisions. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you proceed to prepare and bring these provisions to the port of Tripoli and nearby areas in accordance with my order, so that when my aforementioned vizier returns with my imperial navy and arrives there, according to my order, he will have no difficulty regarding provisions. When you attack by land, should the aforesaid community fortify themselves in the rugged mountains, the aforementioned vizier will lead the musket-equipped Janissaries (*tüfenkli yeniçeri*) of my exalted threshold (*dergah-ı mualla*) from the coast and ascend the mountain with infantry (*yaya asker*) that will capture and discipline them. Should they, as a result, leave the mountains and go to their home regions (*yer*), you, along with the cavalry troops (*atlu asker*) accompanying you and all who have received orders in this regard, are to attack and capture them with good planning and preparation, in accordance with my imperial order (*hüküm-i hümayun*) issued earlier on this subject.

***MD* 27, No. 686**
23 Dhu al-Qaʻda 983/23 February 1576
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

My noble order was earlier issued forbidding the Druzes to use muskets and

commanding you to collect muskets from the hands of those who use them in [one] place, sending [them] to the threshold of my felicity. This firman, as well as the present noble order, remains unchanged. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by them as appropriate. Do not allow any individual of the Druze community to use a musket, in accordance with my earlier firman. Collect the muskets in their possession, gather them in [one] place, record the numbers collected in a detailed register and send the confiscated muskets, along with a copy of the register, to my threshold of felicity.

***MD* 29, No. 70**
25 Ramadan 984/16 December 1576
Given to the *kethüda* of the *defterdar* of Damascus.
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

You have sent a letter in which you reported to me that the inhabitants of the Jurd, the Matn, the Gharb and the Shuf of ibn Ma‘n, which [all] are in the *kaza*s of Sidon and Beirut in the province of Damascus, have come to you and reported that the Druze community in those parts is in a continuous state of rebellion and insubordination. This state of affairs has reached the point where no one will accept the *iltizam* for the collection of the *hass* revenue in their *nahiye*s. When taxes annually become due from [these inhabitants] and officials are appointed to collect them by way of *emanet*, [the people] refuse to pay and show no respect to the *emin*s. They do not pay their taxes according to the register, claiming that they are paying according to the old register (*defter-i atik*). But they do not even pay this [amount]. They cultivate farms that they insist to be nonproductive. [They also claim that] some villages have become uninhabited, but they refuse to allow the *kadı* to investigate their situation. Furthermore, they give no consideration to the *emin*s. [You also reported that] these circumstances serve to increase their insubordination by the day and that, unless the situation is corrected and they are disciplined, it will get out of hand and control will later become difficult to establish. In addition to the fact that they do not pay their taxes, they also cause harm to the Muslims. For seventy years, they have continued to owe seventy *kere*, amounting to 100,724 *akçe*. Every year, they persist in owing a similar sum. It is necessary to attack a number of their villages and to discipline their *mukaddem*s in order to make them pay their taxes.

Since you have reported the above, I have commanded, upon the arrival

[of this order], that you investigate the matter. If they really are rebellious, cause damage to the state revenue and strike out against the subjects, and if it is proven that their *mukaddem*s are wicked, arrest them and have them punished according to the *Şar'*.

***MD* 46, No. 30b**
(Mid-Rajab 989–mid-Safar 990/1581–82)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus:

You have sent a letter to my threshold of felicity [in which you report] that the Druzes living around Damascus have continued in their old habit of rebellion. They have [further] cooperated with the Druzes and Shiites (*revafid*) in the town of Safad itself and in some of the villages around it. They also refused to pay the taxes (*mal-ı miri*) due from them and persist in their rebellion. The *sancakbeyi* of Safad, Hasan, with the *sipahi*s of the *sancak*, and the *ağa* of the janissaries in Damascus, with five hundred janissaries, moved against the aforementioned villains (*eşkıya*) and fought them. Their chief, ibn Mundhir, and some of his men were captured and beheaded. Additionally, they surrendered 600 muskets and undertook to pay taxes in arrears. At the present, my noble order has been sent to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli [asking him] to assist you to get rid of ibn Ma'n, whose trouble and evil deeds (*fesad ve şenaat*) exceed all others. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you contact the latter and get his assistance, should it be needed. Before that, call upon the aforementioned [ibn] Ma'n to submit, if he obeys well. If he does not, call the emirs, the *zaim*s and the *sipahi*s of the province and, with good preparations and by exerting all possible effort, establish control, capture and punish them, and protect the subjects and all the poor and weak people from their evil (*şer ve şur*), while attending to the security of the territory.

***MD* 46, No. 518**
(Mid-Rajab 989–mid-Safar 990/1581–82)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus and the *kadı*s of Safad and Kafr Kanna:

[To] you, the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı*s: the people of the province have sent a written report and the *alaybeyi* and all the *zaim*s and *timar* holders of the *sancak* of Safad have come to Damascus and stated that the people of their

*timar*s have long been rebels. [They also said] that for [the last] three years, while all the emirs and troops (*asakir*) were busy in the [imperial] wars, the bedouins (*A'rab taifesi*) and the rebellious Druzes (*Duruzi eşkıyası*) seized the opportunity together and rose in rebellion, using firearms (*tüfenk*). The people of the *sancak* of Safad alone had seven thousand muskets. The *timar* holders and their men could not move against them. For three years, they could not collect a single *akçe*. In general, the people abandoned their work and land, acquired muskets, and proceeded to raid villages and roads and kill people. Because of this rebellion, it was impossible to apply the noble *Şar'*. It was [also] reported that this situation cannot be corrected without besieging their villages and putting the rebels to the sword. Because of this, I command that you attack the rebels with good preparation, collect their firearms and send them to my threshold of felicity. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that each one of you is personally bound to do whatever is needed to arrest the chiefs responsible for this trouble (*fesad ve şenaat*). After good preparation and by following them to their hiding places, apply the *Şar'* to them and punish them accordingly so that no one will subsequently act in this manner. Collect the muskets for the state, enter their number in a register and arrest [the troublemakers], sending all to the threshold of my felicity. You are warned, in this connection, not to protect anyone who was engaged in rebellion, but to be careful not to interfere in the affairs of people who are not involved.

***MD* 49, No. 110**
4 Rabi' II, 991/27 April 1583
Order to Balis Bey, [who is] in charge of Aleppo:

A letter has been sent [stating that,] despite the presence of the *beylerbeyi*s and all the *zaim*s and *sipahi*s [in the region], the rebellious Druzes and highway brigands regularly hold up Muslim pilgrims and all merchants and poor travellers, and [that they] assault them in the provinces of Aleppo, Damascus and Tripoli. After the *beylerbeyi* and all the *zaim*s and timariots leave the city of Aleppo for the campaign, you must increase the [number of] the *beylerbeylik*'s men to maintain and guard the city itself, as well as the outlying parts [of the province], and to arrest the villains (*ehl-i fesad*) and apply the *Şar'* to them, [as] an example to others. For this, government [affairs] must be conducted with the knowledge of the police superintendents (*subaşı*s), because the villainous highway brigands move freely in most of

the villages of the imperial domains (*havas-ı hümayun)* and the *beylerbeyi*s must collaborate with the *subaşı*s to arrest the villains so that there will be no [further] aggression. For this, my noble order (*emir-i şerif*) is issued.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you do what is necessary in guarding and maintaining the aforesaid province, and controlling and protecting the people. Arrest the villainous and abominable miscreants and apply the *Şar'* to them. In this respect, *beylerbeyi*s must collaborate with the *subaşı*s and are bound accordingly. If the villains move freely in the *timar*s, *vakif*s or [any other kind of] property, ask for the help of officers (*zabit)* and investigate [the matter] carefully with the knowledge of judges specializing in real estate (*toprak kadıları*), leaving no chance for the people whose villainy and robbery is apparent and proven. Seize their money and be careful lest they escape, applying the *Şar'* to them so that they are made an example to others.

***MD* 42, No. 273**
23 Jumada II 989/25 July 1581
Order to the *kadı* of Damascus:

The previous *kadı* of Damascus has sent a letter in which he reports that Abu-Bakr ibn Rizqallah, who lives in the Salihiyya quarter in Damascus, is a wicked (*ğammaz*) man. He has dealings with Druzes whom he supplies with muskets, gunpowder and bullets (*tüfenk ve barut ve kurşun*). [Also] he deals with Frankish ships to which he sells wheat. I have commanded that he [Abu-Bakr ibn Rizqallah] be exiled to Rhodes. Upon arrival [of this order] you are to sever any connections that the above mentioned has with that place and to have him exiled to Rhodes in accordance with my exalted order.

***MD* 49, No. 443**
19 Jumada II, 991/10 July 1583
Order to the *kadı* of Damascus:

The previous *kadı* of Damascus, Muslih al-Din, sent a letter to my threshold of felicity, [stating that] the person called Abu-Bakr Rizqallah, who lives in Damascus, is wicked and has dealings with the Druzes, whom he supplies with muskets, gunpowder and bullets (*tüfenk ve barut ve kurşun*). He also deals with Frankish ships, which he supplies with wheat, and is not innocent of [other] similar activities. [Muslih al-Din] recommended that [the man] be

exiled to Rhodes or Cyprus. My order was that he be exiled to Rhodes and my imperial order [to this effect] was [thereby] issued.[38]

While the current *beylerbeyi* of Damascus, and the previous *kadı* of Damascus, Ahmed, and the current *kadı* of Aleppo, who was previously in Damascus, [also] reported the bad behaviour of the aforementioned [Abu-Bakr Rizqallah], Mawla Muslih al-Din sent [other] letters to my threshold of felicity, [stating that] what has been attributed to the [man] mentioned is contrary to reality, even [adding that] the earlier letter [sent about the man] was not his. God forbid (*haşa sümme haşa*) that the aforementioned [Mawla Muslih al-Din] could report such a thing. [The] forgery, misrepresentation and accusation of something that did not [actually] happen are clearer than the sun. 'Definitely,' [he wrote,] 'I have not heard of any dealings [of the accused] with the Druzes; also, [the accusation] concerning the provisions given to the Franks is an outright lie. The aforementioned [Abu-Bakr Rizqallah] lives in Damascus, [at a distance of] several days from the coast. This is pure fabrication. [The individual] is known to all people as a good and pious man.' This is what [Mawla Muslih al-Din] reported.

As regards the aforementioned [Abu-Bakr Rizqallah], no one is to interfere with him. He is reprieved from exile. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] that, as regards the aforementioned [person], no one is to do him any harm. [The] copy of my earlier noble order is to be taken out of the register. No one is to interfere with him contrary to my imperial firman.

***MD* 52, No. 969**
15 Rabi' II, 992/26 April 1584
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus:

The *muhzırbaşı* of Damascus, Nurallah, sent to my exalted threshold a petition (*arzuhal*) [explaining] that he sent barley to the port of Sidon for its sustenance in accordance with a noble order. Ibn Ma'n, in violation of the order, refused to pay the money [required from him for the purchase of the barley], held up travellers and plundered all that [Nurallah] possessed with twenty of his men. Three to four people were wounded and one Circassian soldier (*Çerkes kulu*) was killed. This is oppression and aggression and [Nurallah] has asked for an imperial order [to have the grievance redressed].

38. Reference here is to the earlier order *MD* 42, No. 273 cited above.

I have commanded that, unless this matter has already been dealt with according to the *Şar‘*, and if fifteen years have not yet lapsed, that you apply the *Şar‘* [in dealing with this case].

## Druze Insubordination: The 1585 Campaign[39]

***MD* 53, No. 724**
11 Safar 993/12 February 1585
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

The person known as Korkmaz ibn Ma‘in [Ma‘n], of the Druze community (*taife*), is a rebellious chieftain (*mukaddem-i asi*). He has gathered [around him] miscreants from the Druze community and done harm and mischief (*mefsedet*) in the *sancak* of Safad in my divinely guarded territory (*memalik-i mahruse*). The people of the area have requested that you march against the aforesaid community where it is gathered. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you march against the aforesaid community with extreme circumspection. Afterwards, you must remain on alert. It is also important that the military (*asker*) of Damascus and Tripoli be [made] available. When these soldiers become available, do not make any excuse. God forbids (*al-‘iyadhu billah*)! You do not have to do anything else, as there is no other fundamental [problem]. You are thus bound to report to me, on the basis of your inherently sound opinion and insight, and to guard against the development of any situation adverse to the Sultanate.

***MD* 58, No. 635**
5 Ramadan 993/31 August 1585
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

My vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, may his glory endure, sent a letter [stating that] the bedouins and the Druze community (*taife*) have rebelled in all parts of the territory. They raid all parts of [the province] of Damascus (*dar al-salam*), cause damage, attack the highways and persist in their mischief and

39. See appendix for grants bestowed by Ibrahim Pasha, the commander of the 1585 campaign against the Druzes, on a large number of individuals for services rendered. While the whole of Muhimme Defteri no. 50 is devoted to such grants made by Ibrahim Pasha, only those explicitly mentioning the Druzes have been included in the appendix.

wickedness. Previously, a noble order was issued appointing you to the governorship of Damascus (*Şam muhafazasi*). Also, a noble order [required] you to join my *serdar* (commander-in-chief) in the campaign of Suq and you were so informed. You are [now] being told that it is necessary and important that you act in accordance with the former order and take control of Damascus. The former order is still the same: take control of Damascus, maintain and guard the territory, protect the people and exert yourself. When the aforementioned [Ibrahim Pasha] arrives, cooperate with him in the appropriate way in the service required [of you]. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that the earlier order is still the same: take control of Damascus and cooperate with the aforementioned [Ibrahim Pasha] in the appropriate manner with respect to the rebellion of bedouins and Druzes. When the aforementioned [Ibrahim Pasha] departs towards my threshold of felicity, you are to exert yourself in maintaining and guarding the territory and controlling and protecting the people in accordance with your inherent understanding and insight.

***MD* 58, No. 636**
Early Ramadan 993/August–September 1585
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

Vizier Ibrahim Pasha has reported that he has attacked the Druzes and was able, with my victorious imperial forces, to cut off the heads of hundreds of the accursed sinners. With God's assistance, he performed commendable deeds. He has sent a number of the severed heads [to Istanbul]. He has thus punished the rebellious community properly. Now, as my vizier is performing a duty in those parts [of the province of Damascus], my order is issued that you must assist him if he calls upon you, without delay, and that you proceed to wherever he commands you to go and perform whatever duty he asks of you. Accompany the aforementioned as he deems suitable, exert in my imperial service all possible effort and perform commendable deeds.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] that, should the aforementioned ask for your assistance as he begins to undertake his duty in those parts, you must not delay or procrastinate. Join and meet with him and exert yourself to perform commendable deeds in my imperial service. This is for your information.

## Druze Affairs After 1585

***MD* 60, p. 11, No. 24**
23 Shawwal 993/18 October 1585
Order to ‘Ali Pasha, *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

A messenger (*adam*) has arrived at my threshold of felicity. My vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, assigned the *beylerbeylik* of Damascus to you. Because of Druze mischief and villainy, the villages of the province (*vilayet*) of Damascus are in a state of unrest (*ihtilal*) and, although you were supposed to reform [this condition], the aforesaid *beylerbeylik* was assigned by the *serdar* (commander-in-chief) to Khusrev Pasha. The status of the aforementioned mischief-makers (*ehl-i fesad*) and all you were charged with remains [the same]. This is what you communicated [through your messenger]. Now, the *beylerbeylik* of Damascus, which had been assigned to you by my vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, is also assigned to you from my threshold of felicity. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide [by it] insofar as the status of the Druze villains and the collection of muskets in the possession of the aforesaid community (*taife*) are concerned. [Also pay attention to] the interests of the treasury and all the public affairs in your charge, with righteousness and piety. Prepare [to meet] all of the requirements of the noble pilgrimage with diligence and courage, and exert all your best efforts [in these endeavours]. Thus, you are assigned [to Damascus] again, as before. You are ordered to be diligent in [conducting] the affairs of the *beylerbeylik* and to abide [by this order].

## Druze Insubordination After Fakhr al-Din Ma‘n

***MD* 86, No. 49**
(Mid-Muharram–mid-Ramadan 1046/June 1636–February 1637)
Order to the *mütesellim* of Damascus:

The current *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, of the rank of rumeli (*rumeli payesiyle*), Mustafa Pasha, submitted a memorandum (*tezkere*) and the people of the province have sent a report (*mazhar*) to my imperial army. [It is stated in the *tezkere* and the *mazhar* that] the villain (*şaki*) ‘Ali ibn Muzaffar, the *mültezim* of a *mukataa* in the *vilayet* of Damascus, has joined forces with the villain ‘Ali ibn Sayfa. They gathered around them 2000 Druze villains and

proceeded to Tripoli, where they attacked the *mültezim* ‘Assaf, one of the sons of Sayfa,[40] and killed a large number of his men unjustly. They also plundered the money and possessions of the people, took women and children captives, and committed all kinds of abominable deeds. It is reported that the oppression and rebellion (*tuğyan ve isyan*) of the aforesaid group is continuing. Thus, you, the aforementioned *mütesellim*, must remove the aforementioned ‘Ali ibn Muzaffar and ‘Ali ibn Sayfa from the province of Tripoli and stop their trouble and evil deeds in any way [possible]. My exalted firman is issued to this effect. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you do not delay or procrastinate by a single hour in removing them from the *eyalet* of Tripoli – with good planning and preparation and in any way possible – and sending them back to where they belong. You [the *mütesellim*] must protect the people and their property and reprimand the aforesaid so severely that they desist from their evil deeds and go about their business. In short, you have to deal with the subjects (*reaya ve beraya*) compassionately, without punishing their womenfolk or their relatives. They [‘Ali ibn Sayfa and ‘Ali ibn Muzaffar] are forgiven this time but, if they cause any trouble subsequently, they will be dealt with most severely, and their people, tribe, clan and all individuals will be totally eliminated (*kavim, kabile ve aşiretleri, vücüdleri mahv olunur*). Inform them lest they say: ‘We did not know or hear.’ Putting an end to this trouble is proof of your attentiveness, [while] not ending it is proof of your negligence. Remove the aforementioned villains from the *eyalet* and stop their harm any way you can and with adequate preparation. Abide, in this connection, with my imperial order and report the condition of the aforementioned villains to my grand vizier, Mehmed Pasha.

***MD* 86, No. 127**

(Mid-Muharram–mid-Ramadan 1046/June1636–February 1637)
Order to the *mütesellim* of Damascus, Abdullah:

You have sent a letter with Osman, the *ağa* of the janissaries of Damascus, to my imperial army explaining that Emir ‘Ali of the Sayfas and Emir

40. ‘Assaf is one of the sons of Yusuf Sayfa, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli for several terms between 1579 and 1625; ‘Ali Sayfa is ‘Assaf’s nephew; and ‘Ali ibn Muzaffar is a Druze chief.

Mulhim of the Ma‘ns[41] have gathered around themselves a number of bandits (*eşkıya*) from the *sekban* and *levend*. One of them established control over Beirut while the other established control over Sidon. You have managed, with appropriate measures, to prepare the needed forces, march against them and evict them [from Beirut and Sidon]. Your soldiers took control of the aforesaid places, where they are at present. Meanwhile, the bandits called the sons of Harfush[42] also joined the aforementioned Mulhim with 25 bands (*bayrak,* literally ‘standards’) of *sekban*. They gathered in the village of Sarghaya, near Zabadani, saying, ‘Baalbek is our territory (*ocağımız*) and we will take it by force,’ and then started to attack Muslim pilgrims and travellers, plunder their money and possessions, kill people and rob them on the road, and engage in acts of villainy. You marched against them with the troops of Damascus, defeated them with God’s assistance, captured 200 men and removed the bandits. [You also reported that] the aforementioned Emir Mulhim is, at present, settled in his place and that you have heard that he has with him 2000 men. May you be rewarded for your effort and your service in this connection is appreciated. Now, controlling and guarding the aforesaid province and its borders is subject to the dictates of religion and state. Consequently, my exalted firman has been issued [to you] to be alert and to stop the *eşkıya* and the troublemakers who are there from attacking the subjects (*reaya*) and the travellers. Stop their harm in collaboration with the emirs of Damascus and guard the territory carefully, as you are obliged to do by my exalted firman. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this firman], that you act in accordance with my issued order in this connection and be always vigilant. If you come to know that one of the Sayfas, or the Ma‘ns, or some other Druze villains, malefactors or highway brigands in the territory of Damascus or Tripoli have gathered in some place and started to do their evil deeds, you, in close agreement with the emirs of the [province] of Damascus, the janissaries and all the troops of Islam, must stand united, march against them and remove their evil. Exert unlimited effort in removing their evil and in punishing its perpetrators. Generally, move wisely and cautiously concerning this affair, lest you cause a great disturbance (*fitne*). While combating the *eşkıya* and the villains, make sure to coordinate fully. Exert yourself in purifying the territory of Damascus of

41. A nephew of Fakhr al-Din Ma‘n.
42. On the Harfushes, see Chapter 3 on Baalbek, the Biqa and Wadi al-Taym.

the filth of the villainous bedouins (*‘urban*). You will be thanked for your service, which will ensure the prosperity of the subjects (*reaya*), the regular administration of the territory and the struggle against villainous bedouins, and your expectations will be fulfilled. In this connection, noble orders have been sent to the emirs of [the province] of Damascus instructing them to support and assist you, and each one of them was ordered to be prepared. Let it be known to you that you must call upon them [to assist you]. Coordinate and unite with them and leave no opportunity for the bedouins to remain in existence, doing whatever it takes to end the harm that they do. But do not, under this pretext, transgress against those who are uninvolved. It is not to my imperial satisfaction that you be the cause for disturbance, contrary to the noble *Şar‘*. Accordingly, be careful and avoid whatever is not to my noble satisfaction.

## The Rebellion of Ahmad Ma‘n

***MD* 102, No. 315**
Mid-Safar 1103/November 1691
Order to the *vali* of Tripoli and ibn Ma‘n:

The people of the *nahiye*s of Kura and Dinniyya in [the *vilayet* of] Tripoli have come and said that the heretic *(revafid) Kızılbaş* villains who live near them have been aggressing against them for some years and that they have no protection. With time, [these *Kızılbaş*] will come to control the [whole] *vilayet*. They have gone to the *nahiye*s of Kura, killed ten people, stolen money and provisions, and taken control of the revenue. [As a result,] the people are hungry and humiliated. Arrest the malefactors where trouble and villainy arise and end their aggression against the poor. My order is issued and written.

***MD* 105, No. 10**
Early Shawwal 1105/May–June 1694
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan:

The son of Ma‘n,[43] who lives in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut, has not attended solely to his proper concerns *(kendi halinde olmayip).* He has been

43. The reference here is to Ahmad Ma‘n.

assisting the accursed *Kızılbaş*, inhabitants of the mountains of Tripoli who ought to be removed (*vacib-ül izale*). He also helps all of the wicked people (*ehl-i fesad*) [in that region]. With his support, the aforementioned villains (*eşkıya*) ruin the villages around Tripoli and continuously cause harm to the Muslims. [News of] this [state of affairs] has reached my imperial ears.

Earlier, my exalted orders were issued [to ibn Ma'n, requiring him] to stop supporting and assisting these accursed troublemakers (*melain müfsidin*) and to remove them [from the area]. But he did not obey or heed [these orders]. Because of [his continuing] assistance [to the *Kızılbaş* and because,] in the opinion of the *vali*s, there is no unity in the governors' efforts to eradicate, suppress and remove this trouble (*fesad*), the villainy (ş*ekavet*) continues.

When the great vizier and commander-in-chief (*serdar*) Ali Pasha was ordered to eradicate, suppress and remove [the villains] in accordance with the noble *fetva* issued a year earlier – forming the basis for my noble order – he [followed my command and] was able, with God's help, to kill most of them (literally make of most of them food for the swords). The remainder fled [the area] and lost their ability to cause trouble (*fesad*), [leaving] local people safe from their evil and sedition (*şer ve şur*). But, on this occasion, they have united and strengthened themselves due to ibn Ma'n's support, [again] demonstrating the villainy inherent in them, resuming their old habit of causing harm to the people and igniting the fire of rebellion and insubordination (*ateş bagy ve tuġyanleri iştial olup*).

You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, have fought those who attack and ruin the territory [of Tripoli]. You were ordered to eliminate the disorder and villainy that they cause. In the fighting, between 40 and 50 Muslims were killed and [reports of] such acts of daring and depravity have reached my imperial ears. Punish the aforementioned son of Ma'n, the source of [this] trouble. It has become obvious that, unless [this man] is destroyed, the evil and sedition of these accursed, wicked people will not come to an end.

[To] you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*: you are charged with this affair. You have been appointed commander (*başbuġ*) over those ordered to participate with you: all of the troops (*kapi halki*) of my vizier, Mustafa Pasha, the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, along with his *kethüda*; the equipped men of the deputy governors (*mütesellim)* of Damascus and Aleppo; all the *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet* of Aleppo; one thousand with the *voyvoda* of Kilis, Kürt Hüseyn; all those capable of fighting by way of general levy *(nefir-i am)* in

the *eyalet*s of Tripoli, Sidon-Beirut, Damascus and Aleppo, fully-equipped; and all of those under your jurisdiction who are capable of carrying arms. [In this connection,] the *voyvoda*s of Hama and Homs are assigned [to fight] together. Noble orders have been sent to each of them and my imperial directive *(tenbih-i hümayun)* has been given.

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, pay attention to the vital questions related to this duty [namely,] the protection of the territory and the promotion of the people's prosperity. For this [purpose], continuous zeal and commitment are required from you. Do not make [the above] information known to anyone and keep it secret. Make sound preparations and collect the necessary provisions. Have your men fully equipped and all of the soldiers and men capable of carrying arms in the *eyalet* of Tripoli ready and prepared. Contact the aforementioned vizier and the *mütesellim*s of Damascus and Aleppo, and others, as necessary. Move after proper coordination [with them].

God willing, you will attack the rebellious ibn Ma'n. If he fights back, do not let him escape, but punish him and punish his villainous followers, who are accustomed to wickedness and trouble making. Punish them without mercy and send their heads to my abode of felicity *(darüssaade).* If they do not fight [back], chain [ibn Ma'n] and his followers, and send them all to my abode of felicity. Cleanse the area of all the *Kızılbaş* and villains, and purify it of their filthy bodies. By performing this duty, you will render an important service to the faith and to my exalted state. Exert yourself and [expend all] your effort.

Thus, you are commanded in this respect. Punish anyone who disobeys your orders, violates the agreement, or shows failure in duty, and report [the matter] to my state. You will witness my imperial satisfaction (*riza*) and you will be the subject of my exalted attention to the degree that your efforts are successful. As for the followers of the aforementioned villains, do not attack their possessions, persons, children, or families if they become obedient to my imperial [majesty]. Protect them in every way, and abide and be cautious. Thus written.

***MD* 105, No. 11**
Early Shawwal 1105/May–June 1694
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut:

The *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan, has been ordered to eradicate, suppress

and exterminate ibn Ma‘n and his followers, who are continually engaged in mischief and wickedness and who live in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut, which have become the haven of villains. This is a vitally important matter. You, the aforementioned vizier – you and all your men, along with your *kethüda* and all the soldiers of Sidon-Beirut not required to join the imperial campaign (*sefer-i hümayun*) [abroad], and all men capable of carrying arms – are ordered [to join this punitive expedition].

Now, on the arrival of my noble order, ready and prepare your men and [your] *kethüda*. As explained, all categories of soldiers in Sidon-Beirut – infantry (*piyade*), cavalry (*süvari*) and, generally, all men capable of carrying arms – are to be equipped and prepared; furthermore, keep in contact with the aforementioned *mirmiran*. When you receive word [from him] send [your men] to him to participate in my exalted service. Move with sound judgement and caution, and order [your men] firmly and emphatically to act in accordance with [the *mirmiran*'s] orders. Also, manage the affairs of those parts as required, exerting yourself in this respect. Written to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 12**

Early Shawwal 1105/May–June 1694

Order to the deputy governor (*mütesellim*) of Damascus:

The *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan, has been ordered to eradicate, suppress and exterminate ibn Ma‘n and his followers, who are continually engaged in mischief and wickedness, and who live in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut, which have become the haven of villains. This is a vitally important matter and [it] requires a large number of soldiers. You, the aforementioned *mutesellim*, along with your fully-equipped musketeers and all of the categories of soldiers in the *eyalet* of Damascus who have not been ordered to join the imperial campaign (*sefer-i hümayun*) [abroad] – infantry (*piyade*), cavalry (*süvari*) and all men capable of bearing arms – are assigned [to serve] alongside the aforementioned *mirmiran*.

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, beware of [making] any excuses and pretexts whatsoever. Have the fully equipped musketeers, all categories of soldiers in the *eyalet* of Damascus – infantry, cavalry and all men capable of bearing arms – ready and prepared. Contact the aforementioned *mirmiran*, move quickly and attack the aforementioned villain, as you see fit. On the basis of the sound judgement (*rey-i sevab*) of the aforementioned [*mirmiran*, proceed to] eradicate, suppress and exterminate the

aforementioned villain as well as his followers in wickedness. Do all that is necessary in my exalted service and direct your talents [toward this]. Avoid negligence, laziness or any other behaviour that is contrary to [my] order in [seeing to] this important matter. Note that you will be affected whether you are commended or faulted, so exert yourself as you should.

My exalted firman (*ferman-i alişan*) is issued to this effect. You are emphatically commanded to proceed quickly and join the aforementioned *mirmiran*, who awaits your [arrival], without negligence or laziness (*takasul*). Your inaction in this important matter will waste time. Also, do not act contrary to this order, or in any way cause [some] disturbance. [Should you do this,] your excuses and explanations will not be heard. Take note of this. Written on the aforementioned date for precaution against violation.

***MD* 105, No. 13**
Early Shawwal 1105/May–June 1694

Copy to the *mütesellim* of Aleppo and the *zaim*s, timariots and *alaybeyi* (regiment commander) of the *eyalet* of Aleppo, who are also commanded for the purpose.

***MD* 105, No. 14**
Early Shawwal 1105/May–June 1694

Copy to Kürt Hüseyn, *voyvoda* of Kilis, [who is] commanded to provide 1000 infantry (*piyade*) musketeers for the purpose.

***MD* 105, No. 15**
Early Shawwal 1105/May–June 1694

Copy to the *voyvoda* (governor) of Hama: fully equipped men and all categories of soldiers in the *kaza*s under your governance, who are not [already] under orders to join the imperial campaign (*sefer-i hümayun*) [abroad] are commanded for the purpose.

***MD* 105, No. 16**
Early Shawwal 1105/May–June 1694

Copy to the *voyvoda* of Homs and the *voyvoda* of Hama, as written for the purpose.

***MD* 105, No. 17**

Early Shawwal 1106/May 1695

Order to the *vali*s of Sidon-Beirut and Damascus, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, the *mütesellim* of Aleppo, the *kadı*s of the said *eyalet*s and the *voyvoda*s of the districts (*mukataat*):

Ibn Ma'n has illegally (*tagallüben*) come to control the Shuf, the Jurd, the Matn, the Gharb, the Shahhar, Kisrawan, Iqlim al-Kharrub, and Marj 'Uyun and what [territory] pertains to them, all of which are districts (*mukataat*) of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut. [Furthermore,] he assists the *Kızılbaş* and all the wicked people in those areas. The aforementioned son of Ma'n was warned several times by my noble order to refrain from assisting [these] villains once the destruction and damage they caused to the territory around Tripoli became evident, but he continued to support and assist them in their subversive activities. When he was the *vali* of Tripoli, my great vizier and commander-in-chief, Ali Pasha, was appointed [to take action against them], in accordance with a noble juridical opinion (*fetva*) and my noble issued order. With God's help (*bi-avn el-Haq*), he was able to punish most of the accursed *Kızılbaş*, while the rest showed complete obedience and were no longer capable of wrongdoing.

Now, at this time, the aforementioned ibn Ma'n is again providing assistance to the aforementioned accursed [villains] and strengthening them. When the *vali*s attacked to stop the destruction of the territory, as they were ordered [to do], between 40 and 50 Muslim [soldiers] were killed in the presence of the aforementioned ibn Ma'n and with [his] assistance. Consequently, it has been decided to remove [ibn Ma'n from the control of the Shuf] and to appoint [in his place] the prominent emir, Musa ibn 'Alam al-Din, by way of *iltizam*. The subjects of the aforesaid districts (*mukataat*) must obey and submit to my exalted firman (*ferman-ı celil-ül kadr*). Accordingly, those who pay the tithe (*öşür*) and the fees (*rüsum*) to the indicated Musa 'Alam al-Din will be left unmolested: they, their families and children, and their money and possessions. They can stay where they are, safely and comfortably. Let them pray for the perpetuity of my state. Others, who are not obedient and who assist the dissidents (*revafid*), atheists (*malahida*), wicked people (*ehl-i fesad*) and those with ibn Ma'n, must be punished according to the *Şar'*, wherever they may be found.

This order has been written for the collection of state revenue and its pro-

tection in any way [necessary], and for the implementation of my imperial order (*emir-i hümayun*).

***MD*** **105, No. 18**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694
Order to the *kadı*s, the notables (*ayan*) and the [other] men of affairs (*iş erleri*) in the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut:

The *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, *emir-ül ümera* Arslan, and the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Mustafa Pasha, with their soldiers, *kethüda*s and fully-equipped troops (*kapıkullari*); the deputy governors (*mütesellim*s) of Damascus and Aleppo, with 1000 musketeers on foot (*piyade tüfenkendaz*); the regiment commanders (*alaybeyi*s), *zaim*s and timariots of Aleppo; the *voyvoda* of Kilis; the *voyvoda*s of Hama and Homs; and all categories of soldiers from the *eyalet*s of Tripoli and Aleppo: all [of the above] categories of soldiers are commanded to cleanse the mountains of Sidon-Beirut of ibn Ma‘n, his villainous followers and the wicked people (*ehli fesad*) who have taken refuge in those mountains. [This] is a very important duty, requiring large numbers of soldiers. [Therefore,] as explained above, all categories of soldiers who are not under orders to join the imperial campaign (*sefer-i hümayun*) [abroad] – infantry (*piyade*), cavalry (*süvari)* and all those capable of bearing arms – are required to join the aforementioned *mirmiran* by way of general conscription (*nefir-i am*).

Now you, the *kadı*s, notables of the *vilayet* and all [other] men of affairs (*iş erleri*) must not compare this matter to any other. To develop the region (*bilad*) and improve the conditions of the subjects, the eradication, suppression and extermination of the aforementioned villain and his accursed followers is [a duty] for which each one of you is individually responsible and [one] of the utmost importance. Upon arrival of my noble order you are absolutely forbidden to delay or stop. All soldiers in the area under your jurisdiction who have not been ordered to join the imperial campaign [abroad] – of all military categories, whether infantry or cavalry – and all those capable of carrying arms are to be equipped and dispatched by way of general conscription. They should be ready so that, when the aforementioned *mirmiran* sends word, all the men of my vizier, Mustafa Pasha, the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, will proceed to [join the] *mirmiran*, along with his *kethüda*. In keeping with the [*mirmiran*’s] orders, they will proceed to eradicate, suppress and exterminate the aforementioned villain. Exert yourselves as my

exalted service requires and on the basis of sound counsel and judgement. [Do not exhibit] any negligence or laziness and [beware of] delay or obstruction in this important matter. Do not make any move or take any position contrary to my noble order. Nor should you act contrary to the order of the aforementioned *mirmiran*. Each of you must [personally] avoid this. Be assured that any person who acts to the contrary with regard to this important matter will later be punished. Take proper note of this and let each one [of you] work to complete this service.

***MD* 105, No. 19**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694

Copy to the *kadı*s, the notables of the *vilayet* and the [other] men of affairs (*iş erleri*) in the *eyalet* of Damascus and to the deputy governor (*mütesellim*), to proceed together. Written to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 20**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694

Copy to the *kadı*s, the notables of the *vilayet* and the [other] men of affairs (*iş erleri*) in the *eyalet* of Aleppo, and to the deputy governor (*mütesellim*) of Aleppo, the *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet* of Aleppo, and the *alaybeyi*s, to proceed together. Thus written.

***MD* 105, No. 21**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694

Copy to the *kadı*s, the notables of the *eyalet* and the [other] men of affairs (*iş erleri*) in Tripoli, Salamiyah, Jablah, Baalbek, Hama, Homs, [BLANK], [BLANK] and [BLANK], to proceed together. Written on the aforesaid date.

***MD* 105, No. 22**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694
Order to the vizier, Ahmad Pasha, *mutasarrıf* of the *sancak* of Gaza by way of *arpalık*:

You, the aforementioned vizier, have been granted the aforesaid *liva* (*sancak*) on condition that you receive the Muslim pilgrims each year and protect them from being attacked by villains in those areas; [that you] protect the

people against oppression and aggression; and [that you] keep law and order. You are commanded to exert yourself in every way in this respect. But the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan, needs additional soldiers, as he has been ordered to eradicate, suppress and exterminate ibn Ma‘n and his villainous followers, who are settled in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut. You are also assigned to [assist] him [in this goal].

You are now ordered, provided you do not neglect the duty of receiving the pilgrims and until the time [that you receive them], to proceed with your soldiers and arrive in Tripoli as soon as possible in order to participate in my exalted service with good preparation and coordination and by doing your best with the aforementioned *mirmiran*. In this respect, you must work without limit to implement my exalted orders to the letter. God willing, and after this important affair is completed, proceed as usual with Hasan ibn Qawwas, the *sancakbeyi* of Lajjun, to receive the Muslim pilgrims together. Demonstrate your service to my imperial benefit and do your best in this respect. Written to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 23**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694

A copy [of this firman] is written to Hasan ibn Qawwas, on aforesaid date.

***MD* 105, No. 24**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan:

[To] you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*: in accordance with my exalted firman [already] issued, ibn Ma‘n is to be punished. You are ordered to eradicate, suppress and exterminate him. With God’s help, it will be possible to remove him.

Record all his money, possessions, animals and cattle, and all that belongs to him, without exception, in a register and collect them for the state. Also, if money or other things are [buried] elsewhere, investigate the matter carefully, dig in the places you come to know of until you find [what had been hidden], and collect it for the state. Record it in a register and report to the seat of my state. Beware of laziness and neglect, or the loss or destruction of anything – not even a single grain. My exalted firman is issued [to you] to be careful in this respect.

***MD* 105, No. 25**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

[To] you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*: [since] my firman regarding the eradication, suppression and extermination of ibn Ma'n [and his followers] has been issued, some of them have taken refuge in ships in the ports near Tripoli. They may escape. Now, keep proper watch over the aforesaid ships, ports and all [nearby] places. If the aforementioned villains, who are taking refuge in the ships, intend to escape, arrest them and punish them according to the *Şar'*. Beware of leniency, laziness, or the protection of a single individual [among them]. My exalted firman is issued to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 26**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694

Also, a copy has been made, as above, to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut.

***MD* 105, No. 28**
Mid-Shawwal 1105/June 1694
Order to the *vali*s of Sidon-Beirut and Damascus, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, the deputy governor (*mütesellim*) of Aleppo, the *kadı*s and *voyvoda*s of the districts (*mukataat*), and all of the men of affairs (*iş erleri*) in the aforesaid *eyalet*s:

Ibn Ma'n has illegally come to control the regions of the Shuf, the Jurd, the Matn, the Shahhar, the Gharb, Kisrawan, Iqlim al-Kharrub [here written, al-Kharnub], and Marj 'Uyun [here written, Marj and 'Uyun] and its dependencies, [all] of which belong to the districts (*mukataat*) of Sidon-Beirut. He also assists the *Kızılbaş* and all the wicked people (*ehl-i fesad*) in the region. Earlier, when it became apparent that [these *Kızılbaş*] were ravaging the territory of Tripoli and causing harm, the aforementioned ibn Ma'n was cautioned a number of times, by noble orders, not to aid the villains. But he did not heed the orders and resumed his assistance to the villains. Consequently, while [the *serdar*,] Ali Pasha, [was still] *vali* of Tripoli, he was appointed by my noble order, based on a noble juridical opinion (*fetva*), [to fight them]. With God's help, he was able to punish most of the accursed *Kızılbaş*. The remaining ones were greatly weakened and lost the ability to cause trouble (*fesad*). Now, this time, the aforementioned ibn Ma'n again assisted, sup-

ported and strengthened them. When the *vali*s took military action to stop him from ruining the territory, between 40 and 50 Muslim [soldiers] were killed. The [continuing] disorder is due to ibn Ma'n's presence; his assistance to the *Kızılbaş* is certain and he must be removed.

Hence, in accordance with my exalted certificate (*berat-ı alişan*), the aforesaid districts (*mukataat*) are conferred upon the *mirliva,* Musa ibn 'Alam al-Din, by way of *iltizam*. The inhabitants of the aforesaid districts (*mukataat*) must submit to my noble order. Those who pay the tithe (*öşür*) and other specified fees (*rüsum*) to the aforementioned Musa ibn 'Alam al-Din must not suffer [any] disturbance to their person, their families, their children, or their money and possessions. They must remain settled in safety and prosperity where they are, occupying themselves with prayers for the perpetuation of my state. Others of the followers of ibn Ma'n and the dissident (*revafid*), evil and accursed people who do not obey, are to be punished wherever they may be, according to the *Şar'*. Their money and possessions must be confiscated for the state. Beware of protecting them in any way, or of laziness or failure in carrying out my imperial order. My exalted firman is issued to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 29**

Late Shawwal 1105/June 1694

Order to Tahir 'Abd al-'Aziz, *sancakbeyi* of Salamiyah and Dayr Rahba:

Ahmad ibn Ma'n, who lives in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut, has illegally come to control the districts (*mukataat*) [of that area] and has devoured and swallowed (*akil ve bali*) the revenue of [these] districts (*mukataat*) – an illegal and harmful act with respect to the state revenue. Moreover, he has joined with the community (*taife*) of the *Kızılbaş*, who follow him. It has reached my imperial ears that they devastate villages in those areas, seizing and plundering the money of their people and continually committing evil and villainous acts. The *emir-ül ümera el-kiram*, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan, has been ordered to eradicate, suppress and eliminate the aforementioned ibn Ma'n and his followers.

[To] you, the aforementioned emir (*mir*): upon the arrival of my noble order, you must also investigate the matter. The aforementioned ibn Ma'n and his followers, who are accustomed to behaving continuously in a villainous manner, have fled and may be found in those parts [of the territory that you control]. Take the proper measures (*hüsn-i tedbir*) to have them arrested

and chained. My exalted firman is issued to have them sent and delivered to the aforementioned *mirmiran*. Thus written.

***MD* 105, No. 30**
Late Shawwal 1105/June 1694

Copy [of the above] to Kulayb, Shaykh of Damascus (*Şam*).[44]

***MD* 105, No. 31**
Shawwal 1105/May–June 1694.[45]
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan:

[To] you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*: you are under orders with respect to ibn Maʿn. The service expected from you must be performed with insight (*basiret*) and total concentration. My imperial directive (*tenbih*) is issued. You will be the subject of my royal attention provided you exert yourself in fulfilling this duty. Should you face any difficulties in completing your mission and should you realize that you are powerless to achieve it [alone], immediately summon my vizier, Mehmed Pasha, who has been commanded to head the left and middle armies (*anadolu sol ve orta kulları*).[46] My noble firman has been sent to the aforementioned [person], as explained to you, and my imperial directive (*tenbih-i hümayun*) has been issued in this respect.

On the basis of what I have commanded and after a response has been received from you, show all the noble orders (*evamir-i şerife*) issued to this effect to the aforementioned vizier. Together, in complete agreement and unity, execute the contents [of these orders], exerting yourselves [in this endeavour]. In brief (*hasılı*), you must conclude the aforesaid affair in any and the best way [possible]. Expend your efforts in this. Thus written.

***MD* 105, No. 32**
1106/1694–1695
Order to Vizier Mehmed Pasha, who has been commanded to head the left and middle armies (*anadolu sol ve orta kulları*):

44. A tribal chief of the Syrian desert rather than a *shaykh* of the city of Damascus itself.
45. The date, not found in the firman, can be inferred from the sequence of the documents.
46. Troops located in areas along an imaginary line running from Aleppo to Istanbul formed the *orta* (middle) troops. To the left, in the region of the Black Sea, were the *sol* (left) troops.

Ahmad ibn Ma'n, who lives in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut, has not tended solely to his own concerns (*kendi halinde olmayıp*). He assists the accursed *Kızılbaş* who live in the mountains of Tripoli and all the wicked people (*ehl-i fesad*) in those parts. Their elimination is an absolute necessity. In the mountains of Tripoli, the aforementioned villains (*eşkıya*) ruin the villages and continually cause harm to the Muslims. [The report of this] has reached my imperial ears.

My noble orders were earlier issued forbidding any support and assistance [to the *Kızılbaş*] and [giving instructions] for the elimination of [these] accursed wicked people, [but Ahmad ibn Ma'n] did not obey or heed [them]. Because of his [continuing] assistance [and because] the opinions and efforts of the *vali*s were disunited, [the] villainy continued.

Furthermore, the noble *serdar*, Ali Pasha, was commanded a year ago by my noble order – issued on the basis of a noble juridical opinion (*fetva*) – to eradicate, suppress and eliminate [the villains]. He was able, with God's help, to pursue and destroy most of them. The remaining ones fled and lost the ability to cause trouble and the people of those parts were spared their evil and sedition (*şer ve şur*). But, on this occasion, due to ibn Ma'n's assistance, they [the Kızılbaş] have [again] united and strengthened themselves, demonstrating the villainy that is inherent in them, resuming the habit of causing harm to the people, and igniting the fire of rebellion and insubordination (*ateş bagy ve tuğyanleri iştial bulup*). The *vali*s fought those who, because of their dependence on ibn Ma'n, attack and ruin the territory. Fifty Muslim people were killed [in the course of the expedition] and [news of] similar acts of daring and depravity have reached my imperial ears.

Punish the aforementioned ibn Ma'n, the source of this disorder and villainy, because it is obvious that the anarchy and sedition of the accursed troublemakers (*müfsidin*) will not end until he is destroyed.

***MD* 105, No. 36**
Mid-Rabi' I, 1106/November 1694
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier [BLANK] Pasha:

The elimination of [Ahmad] ibn Ma'n and his followers, who live and take refuge in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut and continually engage in disturbance and villainy, is vitally important. Earlier, my imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun*) was issued, along with my noble order, commanding you to send [against them] all your men, with your *kethüda*, as well as all [other] types

of troops from Sidon-Beirut who are exempted from my imperial campaign and all men capable of carrying arms. As explained above, equip, prepare and send all types of troops – infantry (*piyade*), cavalry (*süvari*) and all men capable of carrying arms. My noble order has been sent to you and my imperial directive (*tenbih-i hümayun*) has been issued. Yet, no news concerning the aforesaid affair has been received. With God's help, this important issue will be addressed and accomplished, and my imperial wish fulfilled as soon as possible.

Now you, the aforementioned vizier, when you receive my noble order, contact my vizier, Tursun Mehmed Pasha, who is appointed commander (*başbuğ*) with regard to this affair. As explained above, assign and send your men and the men of the aforesaid *eyalet* with your *kethüda*, and remove and eliminate the evil of the aforementioned villains on the [said] territory and its people. Exert yourself [in this endeavour] and also in administering [your] territory properly. Written to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 37**

Mid-Rabi‘ I, 1106/November 1694

Order to the *kadı*s in the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut, the notables of the *eyalet* and [all of] the men of affairs (*iş adamlari*):

Cleansing all of the land of the evil and disorder of [Ahmad] ibn Ma‘n and his followers, who live in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut, the refuge of villains, is a matter of the utmost importance, requiring large numbers of troops. Earlier, both my imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun*) and my noble issued order commanded all types of troops – infantry (*piyade*), cavalry (*süvari*) and all men capable of bearing arms who are not under orders to join my imperial campaign – to be levied by general conscription (*nefir-i am*) in order to develop the territory, improve the conditions of the people, and eradicate the aforementioned villain and his accursed followers. This is a matter of the utmost importance [and attention to it] is required from every one of you. Yet, no particular news has been received concerning the aforesaid matter. With God's help, you are commanded to complete this [task] as soon as possible and satisfy my imperial wish as in the past.

Now, in accordance with my earlier imperial writ and my noble issued order, both of which must be executed and followed, you must equip, prepare and dispatch all types of troops not under orders to join my imperial army – infantry, cavalry and all men capable of bearing arms who are under

your jurisdiction – by a general levy. They must move according to the sound judgement of the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Mustafa Pasha. With God's help, you shall exert yourself in eliminating the aforementioned villain and his followers. Do not be negligent or lazy. Do not delay or suspend [action on] this important matter, or make any move contrary to my noble order. This is written so that every one of you avoids acting contrary to the orders of the aforementioned vizier.

***MD* 105, No. 38**
Mid-Rabi' I, 1106/November 1694
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut:

[To] you, the aforementioned vizier: my firman [has been issued] to suppress and eradicate ibn Ma'n and his followers. Some of them are taking refuge in ships near the ports of Sidon-Beirut and may be planning to escape. Keep watch over the aforesaid ships, the ports, and all places [nearby] with close attention. If the aforementioned villains are intending to escape, arrest them wherever they may be found and punish them according to the *Şar'*.

My noble order and imperial command were earlier issued. Now as before and in accordance with my present order concentrate upon said matter. Keep watch over aforesaid ships, ports and other places [nearby] as necessary [and] with close attention. If aforementioned villains intend to escape, arrest them wherever they may be found and punish them according to the *Şar'* without delay. Do not show any tolerance or laziness in protecting any village and be vigilant [so] no single individual will find some way to escape. [This order] is written to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 39**
Mid-Rabi' I, 1106/November 1694
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan:

Ibn Ma'n, who lives in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut, has not been tending solely to his own concerns. He assists the accursed *Kızılbaş* and all trouble-makers living in the mountains of Tripoli, who must be removed. The aforementioned villains, assisted by the aforementioned [ibn Ma'n], ruin the villages around Tripoli and cause harm to the Muslims. [This information] has reached my imperial ears.

[Orders] were earlier issued [to ibn Ma'n] to stop his assistance [to the

*Kızılbaş*] and to have the aforementioned troublemakers removed, but he did not obey the exalted orders. Also, the aforementioned wretches (*makhadhil*) have not been eradicated, suppressed or removed because the judgement, coordination and attention of the *vali*s was not united. Meanwhile, villainy has continued. Last year, the noble *serdar*, Ali Pasha, was commanded – in accordance with my noble order issued on the basis of a noble *fetva* – to eradicate, suppress and remove [the villains]. With God's help, he was able to make of most of them food for swords and to suppress and destroy [them]. The remainder escaped, but were no longer able to make trouble. [Thus,] the people of those parts were spared their evil and sedition. But the aforementioned ibn Ma'n assisted them, so that they were [again] united and strengthened. They returned to their old ways, which are natural to them, demonstrated villainy, caused harm to the people, and kindled the fire of rebellion and insubordination, as a result of the support of the aforementioned ibn Ma'n.

You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, were ordered to fight those who attack and ruin the territory, and to eradicate trouble and villainy. In the fighting, forty to fifty Muslim [soldiers] were killed. [News of] this and of similar acts of depravity and daring have reached my imperial ears. The aforementioned ibn Ma'n is the source of [this] villainy and must be punished. If [he and] his followers persist in their troublemaking and sedition, you have already been commanded by my noble order, headed by my imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun*), regarding [the action to take].

Also appointed [for this mission] are the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Mustafa Pasha, [who is to send] his soldiers (*kapısı halkı*) with his *kethüda*; the *vali* of Gaza; the fully-equipped soldiers of the deputy governors (*mütesellim*s) of Damascus and Aleppo; all the *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet* of Aleppo; one thousand infantry musketeers with the *voyvoda* of Kilis, Kürt Hüseyn; all the men and officials in the *eyalet*s of Tripoli, Sidon-Beirut, Damascus and Aleppo who are capable of carrying arms and fighting, by way of general levy and fully equipped; and the *voyvoda*s of Hama and Homs. Noble orders (*evamir-i şerife*) have been sent to each one of them. If there are any reasons or obstacles that prevent you from performing this duty yourself, observe and take note [of the situation], sending word to my vizier, Mehmed Pasha, who is in command of the left and middle armies (*anadolu sol ve orta kulları*). My imperial directive is issued [to this effect]. Once the aforementioned vizier receives word from you, he will move

towards that region and will report to me. This time, the expected and awaited news regarding this affair has not been received from you, as a result of [your] negligence.

Note that this affair is an important matter for the protection of the territory and the promotion of the interests of the people. With God's help, the mission will be completed; this is my dearest imperial wish (*aksa-yı murad-ı hümayun*) and you are thus commanded.

As before, noble orders (*evamir-i şerife*) headed by my imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun*) have been sent to those previously ordered, [requiring them] to coordinate [their] efforts sensibly and properly [with you]. On this basis, God willing, attack the aforementioned ibn Ma'n. If he rebels and fights you, do not hesitate to fight back and to punish him and his followers without mercy, for they are villains, accustomed to continuous trouble making and wickedness. Send their heads to my abode of felicity. Clean and purify the area of the filthy presence of the *Kızılbaş* troublemakers and villains. Exert your best efforts in this important service, as befits the Faith and my exalted state. If any of those commanded in this respect acts to the contrary and does not coordinate [his] actions with you, or shows indolence (*taksir*), punish him and report to the seat of my state. My imperial satisfaction (*rıza-yı hümayun*) will be commensurate with your efforts and you will be the subject of my exalted attention. But you are warned not to cause harm to the money, persons, children and families of those who are not villainous, but obedient [subjects]. Protect them in every way. Abide by this [order] and be alert as is appropriate. In this respect, no excuse or argument you make will be heard. Expend your energy and [give it] your total commitment (*hamiyet*). God willing, this service will be accomplished in one way or another, with your utmost effort, with your mind and your soul (*baş ve can*). Written to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 40**
Late Rabi' I, 1106/November 1694
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan:

You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, are commanded by my exalted firman to punish, eradicate, suppress and eliminate the ibn Ma'n and his villainous followers. Once their removal and elimination is successful, with God's help, record all their apparent money, property, animals and sheep – generally, all of [their] possessions and provisions – in a register and confiscate it for the

state. In addition, if they have hidden [any money or movable property] in particular places, or in the quarters where they reside, search these places, confiscate the money for the state, enter it into a register and report to the seat of my state.

Earlier, my noble order was sent containing my imperial directive [to this effect]. Now, God willing, once you succeed in removing and eliminating the aforementioned villain, ibn Ma‘n, and his villainous followers, confiscate all of their apparent money, belongings, animals and sheep – generally, all of [their] possessions and provisions – for the state, recording [what you confiscate] in a register. Furthermore, if they have hidden [anything] in particular places, or in the quarters where they reside, inspect the places that you suspect, dig them up, and find [whatever is hidden] in any way necessary. Confiscate [everything] for the state, register it and report back to the seat of my state. Beware of laziness and failure, or of the loss, or damage, of a single grain. Written to this effect, to urge caution.

***MD* 105, No. 41**
Late Rabi‘ I, 1106/November 1694
Order to the *vali* of Damascus, Vizier Ismail Pasha:

Ibn Ma‘n, who lives in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut, has not tended solely to his own affairs. He assists the accursed *Kızılbaş* who live in the mountains of Tripoli and who must be removed, [along with] all of the other troublemakers (*ehl-i fesad*). The aforementioned villains (*eşkıya*), assisted [by ibn Ma‘n], destroy the villages around Tripoli and are constantly causing harm to the Muslims. When [word of] this reached my imperial ears, exalted orders (*evamir-i aliye*) were issued [to ibn Ma‘n] forbidding assistance [to the *Kızılbaş*] and demanding their removal, which he did not heed or obey. Because of [his continuing] assistance and because the judgement and efforts of the *vali*s were not united, the eradication, suppression and removal of these wretches (*makhadhil*) has not been achieved. Meanwhile, [their] villainy continues.

In the previous year, the noble *serdar*, Ali Pasha, was commanded by my noble order – issued on the basis of a noble *fetva* – to eradicate, suppress and remove them. With God’s help, most of them were [made] food for the sword (*tume-i tig*), and were suppressed and destroyed. The remaining ones fled and lost their ability to make trouble. The people of those parts became safe from their evil and sedition. But the assistance [which] ibn Ma‘n

extended anew united and strengthened [the remaining villains]. They have [again] demonstrated the villainy that is inherent in them and reverted to their old habit of causing harm to people and kindling the fire of rebellion and oppression, because of ibn Ma'n's assistance. The *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan, attacked them to stop their destruction of the territory, as he was ordered to end their trouble and villainy. They killed forty to fifty Muslim [soldiers] and committed other acts of daring. Ibn Ma'n, the source of the villainy, must be punished, or else, as is obvious, the trouble and sedition of the accursed troublemakers will not end.

In this connection, my vizier, the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Mustafa Pasha, has been commanded [to move against them] – in accordance with my noble order headed by my imperial writ (*şevketmakrun hatt-ı hümayun*) – along with all his men and [his] *kethüda*. [Also] ordered are the deputy governor (*mütesellim*) of the *vali* of Gaza; all the *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet* of Aleppo; one thousand infantry musketeers (*piyade tüfenkendaz*) with the *voyvoda* of Kilis, Kürt Hüseyn; and, by way of general draft (*nefir-i am*), all men capable of fighting in the *eyalet*s of Tripoli, Sidon-Beirut, Damascus and Aleppo, [all] fully-equipped, and all those under the jurisdiction [of these *eyalet*s] who can carry arms. Also appointed are the *voyvoda*s of Hama and Homs. You are on your way to the noble pilgrimage [so, in your stead], your *mütesellim* in Damascus, along with all capable men [in your *eyalet*], are also ordered. Each one [of the above] has been separately sent my noble order. If the aforementioned *mirmiran* becomes aware of any reasons or obstacles that will render him unable [to carry out his mission], my imperial directive is issued that he send word to my vizier, Mehmed Pasha, who is nearby, commanding the left and middle armies (a*nadolu sol ve orta kullari*). When you receive word from the aforementioned vizier and also [from] the aforementioned *mirmiran*, proceed to that region.

It has reached my imperial ears that this important mission has started. This time, news is hoped for and awaited, although [no news as yet] has been forthcoming. For the security of the territory and the promotion of the interests of the people, this matter, with God's help, will be concluded and my dearest imperial wish fulfilled. In this connection, the aforementioned vizier, [who is] appointed commander (*başbuğ*), and all those appointed with him, as before, have again been sent my noble order, each one of them [separately]. Also ordered are the *zaim*s, timariots, *alaybeyi*s, local janissaries (*yerli kul*), *ağa*s and officers (*zabit*) of Damascus. In this [same]

connection, it is also required that you perform your duty as befits the Faith and my state.

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order and whether or not you go in person with the troops of the *eyalet*, the local janissaries (*yerli kul*) and all capable men, or appoint your *kethüda* [to go in your place], send word to the aforementioned vizier and concentrate on the eradication of the aforementioned villains. In this connection, execute the contents of my noble orders [as] issued, past and present, in accordance with my imperial expectation. Expend your energy, as usual, to my royal (*mülukane*) satisfaction. Written to this effect.

***MD* 105, No. 44**

Mid-Rabi‘ I, 1106/November 1694

Order to a *kapıcıbaşı* of my exalted threshold, appointed agent (*mübaşir*) in the case of ibn Ma‘n, [name of agent missing]:

You are appointed special agent (*mübaşir*) from my exalted threshold with regard to the eradication (*istisal*) of ibn Ma‘n and his villainous followers, who live in the mountains of Sidon-Beirut. You are to abide by my imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun)*, issued earlier, and by the exalted orders. Up until now, no particular news has been received. With God's help, this important matter will be finalized as soon as possible and my dearest wish fulfilled. As explained earlier, those ordered [to undertake this mission] are the *zaim*s, timariots and locals (*yerli*) of the *eyalet* of Damascus, and all infantry (*piyade*), cavalry (*süvari*) and all those who can carry arms, but who are not required to join the imperial campaign (*sefer-i Hümayun*) [abroad]. [All of them are] to join the *vali* of Damascus, my vizier, Ismail Pasha – or else his *kethüda* – and all his men, who are appointed and commanded [for this special mission]. Each [of them] has been repeatedly sent noble orders and my imperial command has been issued. In this respect, you are also commanded as before.

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, you also must follow and abide by my exalted firman and the earlier imperial *hatt-ı hümayun*. You have to gather all categories (*tavaif*) of soldiers in the assigned place and complete and fulfil your duty in my exalted service. In this respect, you have to follow the judgement of my vizier, Tursun Mehmed Pasha, who is [appointed] commander (*başbuğ*). With God's grace, the accursed villains and their like will be eradicated and the region will be rid [of them]. Do not violate the

appropriate orders of the aforementioned vizier when [these orders] do not contradict my imperial sanction and my noble order. Be very careful in this respect. Written to this effect.

***MD* 106, No. 39**
Late Shawwal 1106/June 1695

Act according to my firman, which must be obeyed (*vacib-ül imtisal*). This state of affairs is due to your indolence (*taksir*). You are now required to end this trouble in any way [necessary]. Beware of [acting] contrary to my imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun*).[47]

Order to my vizier, Ismail Pasha, the former *vali* of Damascus [and] currently the *vali* of Egypt:

Ibn Maʻn, who earlier held the tax farm (*iltizam*) of the fiscal districts (*mukataat*) in the *sancak*s of the Shuf and Kisrawan has not been tending solely to his own concerns. He assists the accursed *Kızılbaş*, who must be removed, and all troublemakers. They ruin villages around Tripoli and are forever causing harm. The aforesaid *mukataat* have been withdrawn from ibn Maʻn and assigned to Musa ibn ʻAlam al-Din. While he [ibn ʻAlam al-Din] was busy collecting the taxes of [these] *mukataat*, which he undertook to increase in accordance with the *iltizam* [assigned to him], some troublemakers from the followers of ibn Maʻn and ibn Shihab caused destruction and disturbance to the subjects and formed bands with the intention of [causing] trouble. The aforementioned *mir* [Musa ibn ʻAlam al-Din] was frightened, abandoned the *mukataat* in his charge and took refuge with the *vali* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Mustafa Pasha. The aforementioned vizier and *mir* have informed me [of this] by letters.

[To] you, the aforementioned vizier: ibn Maʻn and ibn Shihab are villains and my firman was earlier issued to eradicate and suppress them, but they have fled to the vicinity of Damascus and disappeared. Arrest them and eliminate their villainy and disorder. Noble orders [to this effect] have [already] been issued to you several times, but you have not acted accordingly. Proceed immediately, as it is your duty to put an end to the disorder and rising discord, and you will prevail. With God's help, [you will manage] to end the disturbance and control the affairs of those parts.

This is most important and necessary. When, God willing, your [new]

47. This appears at the top of the text of the order and may represent an imperial writ.

appointment becomes effective, you are so commanded and must be ready with the *vali* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Mustafa Pasha, and the *vali* of Tripoli, my vizier, Arslan Pasha. They await your word. Upon the arrival of a message from you, they are to proceed immediately to [join] you, so that you may eradicate, suppress and remove the villains together. Exert yourself in this endeavour. Noble orders containing my imperial command have been sent separately to each one [of them]. [The area of] the *iltizam* of the aforementioned *mir*, ibn ‘Alam al-Din, is to be increased and [the money due from him] is to be reduced by 8000 piasters. With God’s help, this affair will one day be set to rights, as it is very important.

Now, upon the arrival of this firman – which must be obeyed – investigate the matter. Did the subjects (*reaya*) instigate this discord? Do not waste time. In keeping with their customs, send them a letter (*kağit*) of safe-conduct, [while] informing them that the taxes have been reduced by a certain amount. Advise, counsel and warn them; win their hearts and comfort them as well. Extinguish the fire of conflict with wisdom and use your talents [toward this end]. God willing, the aforementioned *mir*, ibn ‘Alam al-Din, will be able to return to his place easily. Punish the troublemakers among the subjects (*reaya*) according to the *Şar‘*. [Then,] organize and regulate the affairs of the territory and protect the people (*raiyet*). Observe [this order] and attend seriously to the problem.

After the flight of the aforementioned *mir*, ibn ‘Alam al-Din, ibn Ma‘n replaced him. This is unacceptable under any circumstances. Should it be necessary to conduct an assault upon him, make the proper preparations and send word to the aforementioned vizier, as well as the *mirmiran*s and emirs of those parts. Let all the men capable of fighting in the provinces of Damascus, Tripoli and Sidon be with you. Attack the son Ma‘n together. If he rebels, disobeys and fights back, punish [him] without mercy, along with his followers, who are wont to be intractable. Send their heads to the seat of my state and let them be a lasting example (*ibret-i müstemire*) to other villains. If they do not fight back, arrest [only] ibn Ma‘n himself, as well as his known followers, chain them, and send them to the seat of my state. Completely remove the heretics (*revafid*) and troublemakers and villains from the face of the earth.

In brief, this discord occurred as a result of your [earlier] negligence and laziness. However, the matter is now referred and entrusted to you; therefore, do what you can so that, by the time your appointment becomes

effective, you will have arrested the villains, prevented evil and harm from being inflicted on the territory and subjects, and restored the aforesaid *Mir* Musa to his previous place and strengthened him. Prove yourself innocent of the accusation that this trouble occurred because of your own negligence and laziness, and clear your record (*tebriyat-i zimmet*). Act appropriately in regulating [the affairs of those] parts. I will be watching. My imperial satisfaction [with you] will be commensurate with your numerous services and good deeds. By means of agreement and cooperation, this matter will be concluded as soon as possible. Do your best and do not delay. My exalted firman, headed by my imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun*), is issued to this effect.

***MD* 106, No. 40**

Late Sha'ban 1106/April 1695

Order to the *vali* of Tripoli, Vizier Arslan Pasha:

Ibn Ma'n, who held the tax farm (*iltizam*) of the fiscal districts (*mukataat*) in the *sancak*s of the Shuf and Kisrawan, has not been tending solely to his own concerns. He assists the accursed *Kızılbaş*, who must be removed, and all troublemakers ruining the villages near Tripoli and causing harm to the subjects. [ibn Ma'n] has been removed from [his position] and the said fiscal districts have been assigned in *iltizam* to Musa ibn 'Alam al-Din. [But] while [ibn 'Alam al-Din] was busy collecting the revenue of the [said] fiscal districts – and increasing it – some troublemakers among the followers of ibn Ma'n and ibn Shihab caused destruction and disturbance to the subjects and assembled with the intent of sowing [further] discord. The aforementioned *mir* [Musa ibn 'Alam al-Din] took fright, left the fiscal districts in his charge, and found refuge with the *vali* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Mustafa Pasha. The aforementioned vizier and *mir* have sent letters reporting [what happened].

In fact, the *iltizam* ought to be increased; however, the aforementioned *mir,* ibn 'Alam al-Din, has requested that it be reduced by 8000 piasters. With God's help, you will be able to eliminate the disorder and disturbance in order to organize the region's affairs by the time you assume office. The previous *vali* of Damascus, my vizier, Ismail Pasha, upon whom I have bestowed the *eyalet* of Egypt, is commanded [to act accordingly], together with all the pashas and *sancak* [*beyi*s] of those parts. You, the aforementioned vizier, must also ready your fully equipped troops and all of the men in your province capable of fighting, because you are assigned and

commanded [to undertake this mission] together with the aforementioned vizier.

Upon the arrival of this, my firman, make careful preparations, be constantly on alert, and await word from the aforementioned vizier. The aforementioned *mir*, ibn ‘Alam al-Din, could not easily be restored to his position and ibn Ma‘n is now in his place. There is a need to advance against him. When you receive word from the aforementioned vizier, neither delay nor stop. Proceed quickly and arrive [at the appointed place] with your fully equipped troops, brave men, and all the men in your *eyalet* capable of fighting. God willing, with a united [effort], you will get to ibn Ma‘n. Act with sound judgement and [after good] preparation and arrest the aforementioned villain, himself and his followers, [all of whom are] persistent and habitual villains. Eradicate, suppress and uproot them; [then], restore the indicated ibn ‘Alam al-Din to his place and strengthen him. With God’s help, you will be able to destroy the heretics (*revafid*), troublemakers and villains. Remove them from the face of the earth, eliminate the harm they do in those parts and rid the people [of them]. Also, organize and regulate [the affairs] of the region. Perform in my exalted service with vigour and, with God’s help, you will end this trouble as soon as possible in all parts [of the territory].

My exalted firman is issued to this effect.

***MD* 106, No. 41**
Late Sha‘ban 1106/April 1695

Copy to the *vali* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Mustafa Pasha.

***MD* 106, No. 42**
Late Sha‘ban 1106/April 1695

Copy to the *beylerbeyi* of Maraş by way of *arpalık* and the *mutasarrıf* of the *sancak* of Wadi al-Taym, Hasan ibn Musa, concerning their fully-equipped troops.

## Druze Insubordination After Ahmad Ma‘n

***MD* 111, No. 271**
Late Muharram 1111/July 1699

Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut and commander of the Damascene pilgrimage, Kabalan Mehmed Pasha:

You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, have assigned the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Sidon and Safad to the Druze villain called Mansur.[48] The aforementioned villain engaged in all kinds of oppression, mischief and despotism (*mütesallıt*) against the people of the territory. Moreover, he appropriated the money and provisions of the deceased Ahmad, son of Salih Pasha, raped his wife – contrary to the noble *Şar'* – and forcefully brought her under his control. He also gave each of his [Ahmad's] daughters [in marriage] to a Druze villain, and killed his sister intentionally. The girls, with their nurse (*hemşire*), asked for assistance from Damascus and were sent there with the help of the people of Damascus. His wife [Ahmad's] is still with him now, under his control. This is what I learnt.

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, the source of this evil, the Druze villain whom you have appointed over Muslims, who is mischievous, abominable and daring to this extent, must be punished. Hence, you must seize him in any way possible, [as] this is your responsibility. In short, if you care for your life, do not make any excuses. Seize the aforementioned villain, put him to death and send his severed head to Istanbul. My exalted firman is issued to this effect.

48. This Mansur is the brother of Bashir Shihab I, who succeeded Ahmad Ma'n in the *iltizam* of the Shuf. The story about him related in this document and accounts of many similar atrocities may also be found in a local Damascene contemporary source. From this source, one also learns that the man was able to evade being captured or punished for his misdeeds, until he was finally killed in late Shawwal 1117/February 1706, in Muzayrib, in Hawran. According to the source, Mansur was the *sancakbeyi* of Wadi al-Taym; for details, see Muhammad ibn Kinan al-Salihi, *Al-Hawadith al-yawmiyya min tarikh ahada 'ashar wa alf wa miyya (The daily events of the date 1111)*, edited by Akram al-'Ulabi and published under the title *Yawmiyyat Shamiyya (A Damascene diary)*, n.d (henceforth, al-Salihi). According to another Damascene contemporary source, Mustafa Pasha of Damascus killed this Mansur in 1118/1706–7 in the same location indicated by the first source. This source adds that his severed head was displayed on the gate of the government house in Damascus for three days (Muhammad ibn Jum'a, *al-Bashat wa al-qudat*, edited by S. l-Munajjid and published with other texts under the title *Wulat Dimashq fi al-'ahd al-'Uthmani* (Damascus, 1949).

***MD* 111, No. 272**
Late Muharram 1111/July 1699

Copy of the above to the *vali* of Damascus for action.

***MD* 111, No. 1492**
Mid-Jumada I, 1112/28 October 1700
Order to the *vali* of Damascus, Vizier Hasan Pasha:

The arrival of the Druze community (*taife*) in the region of the Biqa‘, which is one of the *nahiye*s of Damascus, their settlement there and especially their work in agriculture is a cause for disturbance (*ihtilal*). The previous grand vizier, Köprülü Zade Ahmet Pasha, prohibited them from doing this when he was the *vali* of Damascus. Also, a *hüccet* (legal deed) stipulates that if the aforementioned *taife* comes into the said *nahiye,* their blood may be shed and their possessions confiscated. A few days after the *vali* of Damascus joined the [imperial] campaign and because the *mütesellim* was negligent and lazy, the aforementioned *taife* came down to the Biqa‘ again, settled there and seized more than two-thirds of the land. They used their weapons (*alet-i harb*) to collect the harvest. In addition to their non-payment of the tithe (*öşür*), fees or any of the taxes (*tekalif*) specified in my noble order, [they caused] some of the people of the region to follow them and commit villainous acts. Since it is necessary to prevent them, as was the case before, you, my aforementioned vizier, upon the arrival of my noble order, must not allow the Druze *taife* to come to the said *nahiye* and must prevent them from cultivating the land. Order them most emphatically to go back to their old places and settle there. If it becomes evident that they will act contrary to my imperial firman, punish them as they deserve and cleanse the region of the traces of their evil. Written to be followed.[49]

## The Shihab Succession

***MD* 115, No. 798**
Early Shawwal 1118/January 1707

49. Acording to Muhammad ibn Kinan al-Salihi, the Druzes in the Biqa‘ were attacked in the year 1115/1703–4 by Ibn Bayram, then governor of Damascus, after he had reported their case to Istanbul. According to this same source, Ibn Bayram confiscated all their produce throughout the Biqa‘: see al-Salihi, 77.

Order to Vizier Mehmed Pasha, *vali* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut:

Upon the death of one of the sons of Ma‘n – [the ibn] Ma‘n who held tax farms (*mukataat*) by concession (*iltizam*) in the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut – the one who was appointed in his place agreed to pay the money owed by the deceased in accordance with the [pertinent] legal deeds and documents. According to a long-established custom, [such arrears] must be delivered in full to the treasury of Sidon. But Emir Bashir (*Mir* Ibshir) ibn Shihab, who [replaced ibn Ma‘n as the one] in charge of the tax farms (*mukataat*), died in this blessed year. As has often been the case in the past, the money owed by the deceased from the tax farms (*mukataat*) amounts to more than [the] 250 *kese* [that] he had agreed [to pay]. One of the grandsons of ibn Ma‘n, Emir (*Mir*) Haydar [ibn Shihab], asked to [be allowed to] replace the deceased [Bashir Shihab]. [But] the people (*ehali*) did not accept [him] because he is not forthright and will obstruct the collection of state money and cause losses to the treasury, and [also] because his treason is obvious. In this connection, [BLANK] is appointed an agent (*mübaşir*) and sent [to attend to the matter].

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, on the basis of the above [information] and in accordance with the legal deed and document, you the aforementioned vizier must appoint the aforementioned Haydar in the place of his grandfather if [he] agrees to pay and deliver the money owing from the deceased, on time and in full. If he insists on being obstinate and does not agree to pay the tax-farm revenue owed by the said deceased, causing the loss of state money, march with fully equipped troops against the aforementioned and his villainous followers and punish them according to the *Şar‘*. Collect, according to the *Şar‘*, the money due. If the treason of Emir Haydar becomes apparent, expel him from the aforesaid mountain. Appoint [in his place] the most suitable of the emirs of the aforesaid mountain who will protect the people and the poor, and collect and deliver the revenue on time. According to the circumstances, [such a man] is to be appointed to replace Emir Bashir. After organizing [the matter] of the revenue of tax farms and all of the other affairs of the *vilayet*, report the true situation to my state. [The present firman] is written to this effect.

***MD* 115, No. 799**
Early Shawwal 1118/January 1707
Order to Mustafa Pasha, *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

Upon the death of one of the sons of the [ibn] Ma‘n who held the tax farms (*mukataat*) in the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut by concession (*iltizam*), the person who replaced him agreed to pay what was owed by the deceased and deliver it in full to the treasury of Sidon, according to the [pertinent] legal deed and documents and to long-established custom. The tax farms (*mukataat*) of the aforesaid *eyalet* were entrusted to Emir Bashir (*Mir* Ibshir) ibn Shihab, who [also] died. Emir (*Mir*) Haydar [ibn Shihab], a grandson of ibn Ma‘n, undertook to pay and deliver to the treasury of Sidon, in full, the revenue of the tax farms (*mukataat*) due from the aforementioned deceased, according to the legal deed and documents, and was [thereupon] appointed to replace his grandfather. If he raises any objections and denies the debts of the deceased, as has been his habit of old, march against Emir Haydar and his villainous followers and punish them as you see fit. Appoint the most suitable of the emirs of the aforesaid mountain in place of Emir Bashir. My noble order has been sent to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Mehmed Pasha, and an imperial command has been issued. Upon the arrival of my noble order, as explained above, and in order to have the contents of my noble order implemented, you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, must take action against Emir Haydar and his villainous followers. When you receive notice from the aforementioned vizier, you must also act in accordance with his sound judgement and provide assistance. My noble order has been issued to this effect.

***MD* 115, No. 800**

Early Shawwal 1118/January 1707

Order to Emir (*Mir*) Haydar [ibn Shihab], grandson of Ahmad ibn Ma‘n:

Upon the death of the [ibn] Ma‘n, who was in charge of the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Sidon-Beirut by concession (*iltizam*), the person appointed in his place agreed to pay the money owed by him and deliver it in full to the treasury of Sidon, according to the pertinent legal deed and documents and long-established custom. You, the aforementioned [Emir Haydar], are the best and most forthright of the grandsons of ibn Ma‘n and are expected to demonstrate amity, integrity and service in every way. In accordance with the legal deed and documents, you are to undertake the payment of the money for the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Sidon-Beirut owed by the deceased Emir Bashir (*Mir* Ibshir) ibn Shihab. In order to appoint you in the place of your [grand]father Emir (*Mir*) Ahmad and as a chieftain (*başbuğ*) over the Shuf mountain tax farms (*mukataat*) and the Druze community (*taife*), my

noble order has been sent to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Mehmed Pasha. My imperial directive (*tenbih-i hümayun*) [to this effect] has been issued. You, the aforementioned [Emir Haydar], must undertake to pay and deliver the money of the tax farms (*mukataat*) and the salaries (*ulufe*) owed by Emir Bashir, in full, upon the arrival of my noble order, as explained above. You are appointed in the place of your grandfather and [as] chieftain over the Druze community, on condition that you will always obey the *vali*s of Sidon-Beirut and pay the revenue on time. I have ordered that my exalted firman be issued regarding your control of the said Shuf mountain and the tax farms (*mukataat*) belonging to it, as is the long-established practice.

***MD* 115, No. 2613**
Mid-Rabi‘ I, 1120/June 1708
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, Ibrahim Pasha:

When one of the members of the house of Ma‘n died, he was in charge of the Shuf mountain and all the tax farms (*mukataat*) in the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut by concession (*iltizam*). According to the legal deed and documents of the tax farms (*mukataat*) of his concession (*iltizam*), the person appointed to replace him agreed to pay what remained owing from [his predecessor] in full and deliver [the amount] to the treasury of Sidon, this being the long-established custom. Earlier, the [now] deceased Emir Bashir ibn Shihab [was appointed] according to the above conditions and so long as he obeyed the *mutasarrıf* of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut and paid the revenue on time. In the days of the former *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Mehmed Pasha, and in accordance with my noble issued order, the said tax farms (*mukataat*) and the tax farm (*mukataa*) of Safad, were [next] entrusted to Emir (*Mir*) Haydar ibn Shihab on the basis of the legal deeds and documents and according to custom. [This man] has been in control of the tax farm (*mukataa*) of Safad for six months. He collected much money [from it], but later rejected the terms [of his appointment]. According to the legal deed and documents, the aforementioned Emir Haydar owes 60,000 piasters for the year 1118 and 30,000 piasters for the tax farm (*mukataa*) of Safad. When the said year ended, you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, asked for the money due from the aforementioned Emir Haydar himself, and from his guarantors, in accordance with the legal deed and documents, as explained above. [However,] he resorted to ruses resulting in delay and disobedience. He assembled the chiefs of the Druze community (*taife*) [around him for support] and did not pay the state

money. His villainy and treason became apparent and the *kadı* of Sidon, *Mevlana* Mustafa, reported [the matter] and made [it] known [to me]. In this connection, Osman of the *silahşor* is appointed an agent (*mübaşir*). If necessary, Mehmed, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, and Mehmed, the *mutasarrıf* of the *sancak* of Hama by way of *malikane*, will join you in person, with their fully equipped troops. Also, the *vali* of Damascus, my vizier, Yusuf Pasha, will send fully equipped troops with his *kethüda*. Each one of them has been sent a noble order and my imperial command has been issued [to them] to support and assist [you].

Now, upon the arrival of this noble order, ask again for the money due from the aforementioned Emir Haydar, himself and his guarantors, in accordance with the legal deed and documents [and] with the knowledge of the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*). If he pays it in full, that will be satisfactory. But, if he does not pay it, he will be violating my noble order and demonstrating villainy and disobedience. [In the latter case,] act accordingly, inform the aforementioned *mirmiran* of Tripoli and *mutasarrıf* of Hama, and let them come to you in person with their fully equipped troops, as my firman dictates. Also, ask for the assistance of the *vali* of Damascus. You, also, must move against the aforementioned villain with good preparation. With God's care (*bi-inayat Allah*), you will [be able to] disperse his followers and collect the state money due from the aforementioned villain himself and [from] his guarantors, in full [and] in accordance with the legal deed and documents. Afterwards, if you think that the [continuing] presence of the aforementioned [Haydar] might cause [future] disturbance, expel him from the Shuf mountain. To control [the region], select the most suitable of the grandsons of ibn Ma'n on the aforesaid mountain [to replace him] and my noble order will be sent to him. This [appointment] will be in accordance with the aforesaid conditions and customary practice and with the legal deed and documents. Appoint [the person you select] in the place of the aforementioned Haydar. Let him maintain order among the people, and exert himself with respect to the collection of the revenue of the tax farms (*mukataat*), as the case requires. Whether it is the collection of the revenue of the tax farms (*mukataat*) from the aforementioned villain, or his guarantor, or the organization of the affairs of the territory as a whole, you are required [to attend to the matter]. Assistance will be provided, as you have requested; later, your excuses will not be heard.

It has been decided that you must demand and collect the money of the

tax farms (*mukataat*). Move with caution and collect the state money due from the villainous Emir Haydar in any way possible: whether by gentle means, or by coercion. However it is done, collect the state money in full and have everything organized as necessary. Next, report to my state through the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*). My noble firman has been issued in this connection.

***MD* 115, No. 2614**
Mid-Rabiʿ I, 1120/June 1708
Order to the *vali* of Damascus, Vizier Yusuf Pasha:

Upon the death of the [last] member of the house of Maʿn, who was in charge of the Shuf mountain and all of the tax farms of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut, the person appointed to replace him agreed to pay the remaining debts and the outstanding revenue of the tax farms in full, and to deliver [the total] to the treasury of Sidon, as is the long-established custom. On this basis, Emir Bashir (*Mir* Ibshir) ibn Shihab, who died recently, [was appointed], on condition that he observe the aforesaid undertakings, obey the *mutasarrıf* of the *eyalet* of Sidon and pay the revenue punctually. In accordance with my noble order, [as] issued in the days of the former *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Mehmed Pasha, the aforesaid tax farms, as well as the tax farm of Safad, were placed in the charge of Emir (*Mir*) Haydar ibn Shihab, in keeping with long-established practice and the legal deed and documents. After having controlled the tax farm of Safad for six months and having collected much money, Emir (*Mir*) [Haydar] rejected the conditions [of his appointment]. There remains due from [him] 65,000 piasters for the year 1118 and [an additional] 35,000[50] piasters from the dues of the tax farm of Safad, according to the legal deed and documents. When the aforesaid year ended, the governor (*emir-ül ümera*) of Sidon-Beirut, *beylerbeyi* Ibrahim Pasha, demanded payment of what remained due of the revenue from Emir Haydar, in accordance with the legal deed and documents, as explained above, from [both the emir himself] and his guarantors. [Emir Haydar] resorted to trickery and delay, demonstrated disobedience, assembled [around him] the chiefs of the Druze community (*taife*), and did not pay the revenue due from him. His treason and wickedness became obvious. The

50. The sums in this document are slightly higher than in the earlier order (no. 2613) in the same volume.

aforementioned *mirmiran* and the *kadı* of Sidon, *Mevlana* Mustafa, reported [the matter] and made [it] known [to me]. A member of my *silahşor*, Osman, has been appointed as agent (*mübaşir*) in this connection.

The *mutasarrıf* of Tripoli and the *mutasarrıf* of the *sancak* of Hama by *malikane* have been ordered to lead their men in person and come to the assistance of the aforementioned *mirmiran* [Ibrahim Pasha]. When the aforementioned *mirmiran* demanded payment of the money due from the aforementioned Emir Haydar [yet] again, in accordance with the legal deed and documents and with the knowledge of the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*), he refused to pay, acting contrary to my noble order. Now, action must be taken [against him] and, after his followers are dispersed, the money due from the aforementioned villain must be collected from him and his guarantors. Afterwards, if there is any question that the [continued] residence of the aforementioned in his place might be a cause for disturbance, he is to be expelled from the Shuf mountain. According to long-established custom and, after accepting the said conditions, the most suitable of the Ma‘ns on the aforesaid mountain is to be appointed in place of the aforementioned Emir Haydar, in order to attend to the region and the affairs of the people.

My noble order and imperial command is [hereby] issued. You, the aforementioned vizier, are commanded to assist the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, with fully equipped troops to be dispatched with your *kethüda*. Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, contact the aforementioned *mirmiran* and send your *kethüda* to him at a suitable time. Move against the aforementioned Emir Haydar as you see fit; defeat and destroy him. Exert yourself in establishing order in the tax farms and [in] all that is necessary in my exalted service. Put an end to this [insubordination] any way [possible].

It has been emphatically pointed out to the aforementioned *mirmiran* that there is to be no revocation [of this order]. The aforementioned villain has controlled the said tax farms and accepted the legal deed and documents. However, in order to avoid paying revenue, he has assembled his villainous followers and rebelled. The aforementioned villain and his followers are to be defeated and destroyed and the revenue collected, the organization of the tax farms being a concern important to my exalted state. The *vilayet*s of Sidon-Beirut and Tripoli are part of Syria (*bilad-ı şamiye*) and part of the territory (*memleket*) of Damascus. It is the duty of the *vali* of Damascus to prevent disturbances in these *vilayet*s and to attend to their organization.

Accordingly, be alert and send your *kethüda* [to Sidon] with fully equipped and armed men. Give him instructions as the situation dictates. If you demonstrate any negligence or laxity in this connection, you will be held responsible and reprimanded. Therefore, act with zeal. My exalted firman is [hereby] issued in this connection.

***MD* 115, No. 2615**
Mid-Rabi' I, 1120/June 1708
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

Upon the death of an ancestor of the sons of Ma'n who had been in charge of the Shuf mountain in the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut and all the other tax farms (*mukataat*) by concession (*iltizam*), the person appointed to replace him agreed to pay the outstanding debts and revenue of the tax farms in full, delivering the [total amount] to the treasury of Sidon, according to [the pertinent] documents and long-established practice. On this basis, Emir Bashir (*Mir* Ibshir) ibn Shihab, who died recently, [was appointed to the position] on condition he observe the aforesaid undertakings, obey the *mutasarrıf* of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut and pay the revenue punctually. According to my noble order, issued in the days of the former *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Mehmed Pasha, the said tax farms as well as the tax farm of Safad were placed in the charge of Emir Haydar (*Mir* Haydar) ibn Shihab, according to a legal deed and documents as well as long-established practice. After having controlled the tax farm of Safad for six months and having collected much revenue, [Emir Haydar] rejected the conditions [of his appointment]. There remains outstanding from the aforementioned Emir Haydar 65,000 piasters for the year 1118 and also 35,000 piasters[51] from the dues of the tax farm of Safad, according to the legal deed and documents. When the aforesaid year ended, the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, *Emir-ül ümera* Ibrahim Pasha, demanded payment of what remained due of the revenue from Emir Haydar in accordance with the legal deed and documents, as explained above, from both the emir himself and his guarantors.

[The aforementioned emir] resorted to trickery and delay, demonstrated disobedience, assembled [around him] chiefs of the Druze community (*taife*) and did not pay the revenue due from him. His treason and wickedness

51. See footnote 50 immediately above.

became obvious. The aforementioned *mirmiran* and the *kadı* of Sidon, *Mevlana* Mustafa, reported this [matter] and made it known [to me]. A member of my *silahşor*, Osman, has been appointed as an agent (*mübaşir*) in this connection by my honoured noble order (*emir-i şerif şerefyafte*), [as] issued.

When the aforementioned *mirmiran* [of Sidon-Beirut] again demanded payment from the aforementioned Emir Haydar again, in accordance with the legal deed and documents and with the knowledge of the aforementioned *mübaşir*, he [acted] contrary to my noble order and refused to pay. Hence, the necessity that the aforementioned *mirmiran* take action to disperse [the emir's] followers, collect the state money and organize the conditions of the tax farms. My imperial order to prepare fully equipped troops is [now issued] to you, [and to] the aforementioned *mirmiran* [of Tripoli] personally. Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, contact the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, the aforementioned *mirmiran*. If necessary, join him with your fully equipped troops and unite against the aforementioned villain. With God's favour, disperse his followers and restore order to the tax farms. Do your best in this endeavour. You and the aforementioned *mirmiran* are jointly commanded [to perform] this duty. If you demonstrate any negligence, your excuses will not be accepted and it is certain that you will be reprimanded and punished. Therefore, act sternly and as the firman commands. Be extremely careful in performing this duty. [My firman] is written in this connection.

***MD* 115, No. 2616**
Mid-Rabi' I, 1120/June 1708

Copy to the *mutasarrıf* of the *sancak* of Hama by *malikane*, Mehmed Pasha, as explained above.

## Administrative and Fiscal Orders

***MD* 50, No. 619**
10 Rajab 993/8 July 1585
The *beylerbeylik* of Sidon and Beirut:

The bey of the *sancak* of Homs, ‘Ali Bey,[52] has come [to Istanbul] and offered an increase of 100,000 *filori*s for a four-year *iltizam* for the *mukataat* of Korkmaz ibn Ma‘n, in the city of Sidon (*nefs-i Sayda*), as well as the districts that belong to it, and the *mukataat* of Muhammad ibn Sharaf al-Din, including the villages and Hisn al-Akrad, which have long been under his control. He undertook to deliver to the treasury the money due according to the earlier *iltizam*. Thereafter, the 100,000 *filori* of increased payment will be delivered in instalments of 25,000 gold pieces per year. This arrangement is conditional upon [the following]: the transformation of the aforementioned territory (*vilayet*) into a *beylerbeylik*; the assignment to him of a *has* fief of 800,000 *akçe*s from the revenue of the *bad-ı hava* tax and the increase of the *mukataat iltizam*, and the [additional] transformation of the *zeamet*s of ibn Ma‘n al-Din[53] and Ibn Sharaf al-Din into a *has* fief; [the understanding] that the aforesaid *mukataat* shall not be separated from each other; and the assignment of the salaries (*ulufeler*) to the individuals whom he appoints. If the aforesaid *iltizam* with the increased payment is granted and no one else is appointed to it, and if it is transformed into a *beylerbeylik*, along with all other conditions, including keeping all office holders (*menasib*) in place and exempting *zaim*s and timariots from imperial campaigns as long as they perform their duties locally, [‘Ali Bey will stand by his offer]. If all these conditions are not accepted, ‘Ali Bey will not agree to the increase in payment.

***MD* 71, No. 237**
18 Safar 1002/13 November 1593
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus:

My vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, may his glory endure, has sent a man [messenger] to my threshold of felicity. [He has stated that] Emir ‘Ali ibn Harfush had earlier bought the bath in the town of Beirut for 8500 gold pieces from Emir

52. This is ‘Ali al-Harfush who was taken captive to Istanbul along with other local chiefs who surrendered to Ibrahim Pasha, the commander of the 1585 punitive expedition against the Shuf. The Harfushes made a similar offer at a much later time for the *sancak* of Safad, which was then held by Fakhr al-Din, the son of Korkmaz Ma‘n; for details, see A. Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575–1650* (Beirut, 1985), 116–17, 130.
53. Obviously this is a clerical error. The family name is attested in the form that is used at the beginning of the document.

Sayf al-Din. The latter [concluded] the sale (*füruht*) and received the money in full. After surrendering the title-deed (*hüccet-i şeriye*), he sent someone to take control of the bath [saying,] 'The bath is mine and my property (*mülk),* and I will not sell it to Emir 'Ali.' Emir 'Ali [then] died and the money remained [with Emir Sayf al-Din]. [Meanwhile,] the inheritance [of 'Ali] passed into the hands of his son Musa, who also took 1500 gold pieces from Emir Ahmad Aqra'[54] in payment for camels. The aforementioned 'Ali [ibn Harfush] had killed [this] Ahmad [Aqra' and] the said gold pieces should have been paid to Emir 'Ali [before] he died. In accordance with an order from the finance department issued to his agent, [this money] is to be collected in full from [his son] Emir Musa for [maintaining] the control [of the disputed property]. A noble order has also been issued from my imperial council (*divan-ı hümayun*). You are asked to act in accordance with the imperial order issued by the finance department (*maliye*). I command that you act according to the noble order. My aforementioned vizier is not to do anything to anyone that violates this [order].

***MD* 71, No. 188**
7 Rabi' I, 1002/1 December 1593
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

Earlier, the *sancak* of Sidon and Beirut was detached from [the *eyalet* of] Tripoli. Now, it is to be part of [the *eyalet* of Tripoli again]. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that the registers of the aforesaid *sancak* be taken out and delivered to [the *beylerbeyi* of] Tripoli.

***MD* 71, No. 189**
7 Rabi' I, 1002/1 December 1593
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

Earlier, the *sancak* of Sidon and Beirut was detached from the province of Tripoli and attached to Damascus. Then it was reattached to Tripoli. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you assign the vacant *timar*s to the *zaim*s and timariots, and also [to] the *sancakbeyi* [already] in the service of my exalted state.

54. Ahmad al-Aqra' was in the service of 'Ali Harfush until he was killed by the latter; for details, see A. Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships*, 131–2.

***MD* 71, No. 190**
7 Rabi‘ I, 1002/1 December 1593
Order to the bey of Sidon and Beirut:

The aforesaid *sancak* was earlier detached from the province of Tripoli and attached to Damascus. Now it is to belong to [the province of] Tripoli [again]. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that henceforth you refer to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli in [all] matters pertaining to the aforesaid *sancak*.

***MD* 73, No. 88**
1 Safar 1003/16 October 1594
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

Previously, the *sancak* of Sidon and Beirut was detached from the *beylerbeylik* of Tripoli and attached to Damascus. Later, the aforesaid *sancak* was reattached to Tripoli. From this day forward, you are to assign the vacant [*timar*s] in the aforesaid *sancak* and use the *zaim*s, timariots and *sancakbeyi* [there] in the service of my exalted state (*devlet-i aliye*), in accordance with the order issued in the time of my late father, which is now renewed. I have commanded, upon [the arrival of the present order], that you act accordingly, unless there is an order to the contrary.

***MD* 73, No. 89**
1 Safar 1003/16 October 1594
Order to the bey of Sidon and Beirut:

Previously, the aforesaid *sancak* was detached from the *beylerbeylik* of Tripoli and attached to Damascus. Now, it is to be returned to Tripoli. From this day forward, you must refer to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli on matters pertaining to the aforesaid *sancak*. An order [to this effect] issued in the time of my late father is now renewed. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of the present order], that you act accordingly, unless there is an order to the contrary.

***MZ* 8,[55] No. 164**

55. MZ refers to *Mühimme Zeyli*, a supplement of 14 volumes covering non-consecutive years.

(Safar-Sha‘ban, 1016/May–December 1607)
Order to ‘Ali Bey, *sancakbeyi* of Sidon and Beirut:

You are characterized by loyalty and courage in every way, exerting yourself to protect and guard [your] territory and to collect and secure the state revenue. But I have learned that there are no independent *hase*s in the *sancak* that you control. I thus order you to have 200,000 *akçe*s [collected] as annual taxes (*salyane*), as was [previously] the custom in the aforesaid *liva*. My order is issued [to this effect]. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] and in accordance with the firman, that you collect the *salyane* of 200,000 *akçe*s from the *emin*s in your *sancak*, exerting yourself, as in the past, to protect and guard the aforesaid *liva*, to control and protect the people, and to collect [the taxes] and increase the revenue (*mal*).

***MD* 78, No. 438**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the bey of Sidon and Beirut, Ibrahim Bey:

You are a sincere and courageous person in the service of my Istanbul of felicity (*asitane-i saadet*). Yes, the said *sancak* has been granted to you. You are to exert yourself in guarding the aforesaid *sancak* and promoting the prosperity of the subjects (*reaya*). As for the people (*reaya ve beraya*) who have suffered at the hands of troublemakers and aggressors, you are to administer their affairs with good management (*hüsn-ü tedebbür ve tedarük*), restore them to their native regions (*yer*), and settle them there in accordance with the noble firman (*ferman-ı şerif*) issued to this effect. Upon the arrival [of this order], act in accordance with my exalted firman (*ferman-ı celil-ül kadr*) and the justice and integrity (*istikamet*) that are inherent in you.

You are to guard and protect the aforesaid territory (*vilayet*), take care of the subjects, and restore people who were victims of injustice to their native regions, resettling them. You must exert yourself without limit in this endeavour and, God willing, your service will not go unrewarded and you will be the object of my exalted attention (*inayet-i aliye*).

***MD* 78, No. 449**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order (*hüküm*) to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

The *sancak* of Sidon and Beirut has been granted to [Emir] Ibrahim from my Istanbul of felicity. Having arrived with his fully equipped ships (*müretteb ve mükemmel kadırgalar*) to join my imperial navy and having performed the service [required of him], he should now proceed to the aforesaid *sancak* and establish control there. You must accord him support and assistance. For this [purpose], my firman has been issued. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] and in accordance with my firman, [that] you do all that is necessary and offer total support and assistance to ensure the control of the *sancak*.

***MD* 79, No. 1096**

(Mid-Muharram 1019–late Dhu al-Hijja 1020/April 1610–March 1611)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus:

Ibrahim, one of the Damascene janissaries, has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) reporting that Mustafa Kethüda, agent (*vekil*) of the *sancak-beyi* of Safad, Fakhr al-Din, has attacked him with hundreds of the *sekban*s in his service, seizing 3500 of his sheep, killing three of his relatives and [committing] other acts of injustice and aggression. The aforementioned [Ibrahim] is of the group (*taife*) of the *üsküdar has turkmen*. Accordingly, he has requested my noble order [on this matter].

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you bring the aforementioned Mustafa Kethüda to court; if he does not comply, summon his guarantor who will bring him, according to the *Şar'*. Make a fair investigation of these matters since which fifteen years have not [yet] elapsed and which have not already been judged or investigated according to the *Şar'*. If the matter is as explained, you must restore what was illegally seized. After full restoration is made, if the person who committed this depravity needs to be reported to [Istanbul], make a record of the charges proven against him and report them. If it is not so, do whatever is necessary to him according to the *Şar'*. Do not give anyone the chance to act in a way contrary to the noble *Şar'*. Behave in this respect as required and be very vigilant against the reoccurrence of such acts in any place [under your control].

***MD* 80, No. 365**

(Mid-Muharram 1022–mid-Safar 1023/March 1613–March 1614)[56]
Order to Vizier Ahmad Pasha in the government (*hükümet*) of Damascus:

Since the *sancak*s of Sidon, Beirut and Safad have been established as an independent *beylerbeylik*, granted from the Asitane of my felicity to *emir-ül ümera* Hasan, my noble order has been issued to have the summary (*icmal*) and itemized (*mufassal)* fiscal registers pertaining to the aforesaid *sancak*s of Sidon-Beirut and Safad sent to the aforementioned *beylerbeyi* of Sidon.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by my noble firman issued in this respect. Put the *icmal* and *mufassal* registers in a pouch, seal it, send it and have it delivered to the aforementioned *beylerbeyi* of Sidon by dependable men.

***MD* 81, No. 70**
12 Rabi' I, 1025/30 March 1616
Order to the bey of Safad and the *kadı* of Sidon:

*Emir-ül ümera* Hasan, *beylerbeyi* of Karaman, has sent a messenger to me. He informs me that, when he was earlier the *beylerbeyi* of Safad, an inhabitant of Sidon, Hacı Shams al-Din Hasan, and a Jew called Mordakhay, were indebted to the amount of 3282.5 piasters. When this sum was demanded from the aforementioned, they had no money [to pay], so the aforementioned *emir-ül ümera* [Hasan] paid [the amount] from his money. Mustafa Kethüda, the deputy of Fakhr al-Din ibn Ma'n, had undertaken to pay the money on behalf of [the two] aforementioned, agreeing to pay it, according to a legal deed, in the form of six [ship?] loads of soap [to be received] in Istanbul. But this soap was not forwarded to the aforementioned *emir-ül ümera.* Since the said amount is a debt that must be settled, [the *emir-ül ümera*] requests my order that [the amount] be delivered to his agent in return for a stamped certificate.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that each of you acts in this respect as follows. Summon the aforementioned Mustafa Kethüda to the court (*meclis-i şeri-i şerif*) to meet the messenger of the aforementioned *emir-ül ümera*, and make a fair investigation of the matter. If [you find that] the said amount remains due from [Mustafa Kethüda] and

56. Since the province was established subsequent to Ahmad Pasha's war against the Fakhr al-Din Ma'n and the Druzes in 1613 and 1614, the date of this order must be 1614.

a stamped certificate [to this effect] has [actually] been given to the aforementioned [*emir-ül ümera*], you must act according to the proper *Şar'* in this respect and judge, after the case is established, that the said amount is due from the guarantor (*kefil*), and that he must pay it in full. Do not leave him the opportunity to act contrary to the noble *Şar'* and the stamped certificate in [the possession of the *emir-ül ümera*].

***MD* 99, No. 565**
Early Sha'ban 1101/May 1690
Order to Vizier Ismail Pasha, former *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut:

[To] you, the aforementioned vizier: in order to collect the money due from you for the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Sidon-Beirut and convey [it] to the state, a noble order has been issued appointing [BLANK], a *kapıcıbaşı* of my exalted threshold, as an agent (*mübaşir*). When he arrives, you must send the money available in your treasury (*hazine*), approximately 200 *kese*, to Istanbul (*Asitane*). Do not make excuses or delay delivery [by claiming that] some of [the money] remains as yet uncollected. Deliver it quickly, sending it to the state. Finish paying what is [still] outstanding from advance salaries (*mevacibinden mukaddem*). Do not act contrary to the noble order. For this [purpose], a noble order is being issued by the finance department (*maliye*), according to which an order is also being issued by the imperial council (*divan-ı hümayun*).

***MD* 106, No. 254**
Late Ramadan 1106/May 1695
Order to my vizier, the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, and the supervisor and collector of the money of the *mukataat*, [BLANK] Pasha:

[To] you, the aforementioned vizier: the amount of 30,000 piasters is due for the *mukataat* of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut. Of this money, deliver 25,000 piasters to the current grand vizier, Mehmed Pasha, in a sealed purse (*kese*). Appoint one of your dependable men to deliver [the amount] quickly. Beware of delay and negligence in this matter. An order has been issued to you by the finance department (*maliye*) to this effect.

***MD* 110, No. 319**
Mid-Dhu al-Hijja 1108/July 1697

Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut:

God willing, the revenue for the year 1108 of the fiscal districts (*mukataat*) of Sidon-Beirut, which is in your charge, is to be used to pay the salaries of military personnel (*kullar*). It is necessary and important to collect and send [to Istanbul] the sum of 150 *kese*, in any way possible. Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, collect the sum of 150 *kese*, put it in a bag, seal it, send it quickly with dependable men and have it delivered to the treasury of my imperial army (*ordu*). Written in accordance with [the notice] from the treasury (*maliye*).

***MD* 110, No. 2285**
Late Rabi' II, 1116/July–August 1704
Order to the *beylerbeyi*s of Damascus, Tripoli and Sidon-Beirut, to the *mutasarrıf*s of the *liva*s in the aforesaid *eyalet*s, and to the *molla*s, the *kadı*s and the *mütesellim*s in the aforesaid *eyalet*s:

You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, have submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) to my imperial army [stating that] those [who were] notorious for villainy in the days of villains (*zaman-ı eşkıya*) – 'Ali Mansur of the tribe of [BLANK], Shaykh Sa'di of the tribe of [BLANK] and Husayn ibn Mushriq – have gathered [other] villains around them, killed people, seized money illegally, caused harm to the inhabitants of the *vilayet* and to travellers, and committed other acts of mischief and villainy (*fesad ve şekavet*) without end. In addition, they have seized most of the revenue of the fiscal districts (*mukataat*) of Sidon and Beirut, obstructed the collection of taxes, and ruined the territory. When you find the aforementioned [persons], arrest them, confiscate the taxes they have seized and punish them according to the *Şar'*. As you have requested, my imperial order (*hüküm-i hümayun*) is thus written [so that] you may act accordingly, as explained above.

***MD* 111, No. 1378**
Mid-Rabi' I, 1112/August–September 1700
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut, Kabalan Mehmed:

You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, have submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) to my threshold of felicity [stating that] your brother, Arslan, the incumbent *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, has arrived there. Meet him [and] stay [with him]

for five to ten days, and then return to your post. This [order] is issued in response to your petition requesting my noble order. Act as explained above.

***MD* 115, No. 578**

Late Jumada II, 1118/October 1706

Order to Mehmed, treasury (*hazine*) agent (*mübaşir*) for the money coming to my state from [the] revenue of Sidon-Beirut:

[To] you, the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*): revenue has been collected from Tripoli. This [revenue] is not part of the money you were ordered to bring [to Istanbul] from the revenue of Sidon-Beirut. God willing, a firman pertaining to the treasury (*hazine*) will be issued and dispatched [to you] on 5 Rajab, a Tuesday, in order to [permit you] to bring this [money]. There is an urgent need to deliver the salaries (*mevacib*). It is a most pressing matter, therefore you have also been appointed agent (*mübaşir*) in this connection.

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, wherever you may be and whether [the matter relates to] the delivery of the revenue of Sidon-Beirut, with which you are charged, or to my [present] firman concerning the coffer (*hazine*) of Tripoli, you must absolutely not linger in any place. Work night and day, as explained in my firman, to bring the said coffers to the Asitane of my felicity and bring [them] to the treasury (*hazine-i amire*), as [they] must be delivered before the appointed day. In this connection, you must not show any negligence or failure, but take the initiative and act quickly. As my firman commands, bring the said coffers on time. Written to be observed.

***MD* 115, No. 840**

Mid-Shawwal 1118/January 1707

Order to the *vali* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Mehmed Pasha:

I have learnt that you, the aforementioned vizier, have had Jawhar, the officer (*zabit*) of the tax farm of Beirut and the warden (*dizdar*) of its fortress, killed [by someone acting] on your behalf and [that you] have appropriated the money in his possession. In this connection, Ismail has been appointed agent (*mübaşir*) and dispatched. Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, [take note]: the aforementioned [Jawhar] was in control of the tax farm of Beirut for several years and used to present his accounts [regularly]. My exalted state did not approve his killing by legal writ, yet you dared to kill him [so as] to seize his money. This particular aforementioned

person whom you have unjustly killed was the officer (*zabit*) of the tax farm of Beirut for many years. Understand well that he had more than 200 *kese* of money [in his possession]. Of the aforesaid money, prepare 150 *kese* and deliver [them] to the state with the knowledge of the aforementioned agent. A legal inventory of all of the Beirut property of the aforementioned [Jawhar] – mulberry trees, orchards, stores, shops, animals, sheep, and everything else he possessed – must be made, with the knowledge of the aforementioned agent, and entered into a register. Beware of missing anything. Keep [the said] effects safe [in Beirut] and send to [the state] the signed and sealed register. In this connection, do not make any move contrary to my noble order; do not show any kind of negligence or laziness and be careful. For this, my exalted firman has been issued and written.

***MD* 115, No. 1678**

Late Jumada I, 1119/August 1707

Order to all great viziers, *beylerbeyi*s, *sancakbeyi*s, *kadı*s, *kethüda*s, janissary commanders (*serdarlar*), officers of the *hava*s and *vakif*s, notables (*ayan*) and men of affairs (*iş adamlari*) on the right and left sides of the route between Üsküdar and Sidon-Beirut:

My noble order has been issued for the former *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Mehmed Pasha, to be brought [to Istanbul] by Yusuf, one of the chief guards (*kapıcıbaşılar*) of my exalted threshold. According to my firman, all of Mehmed Pasha's money, effects, animals and [other] possessions must be immediately confiscated for the state. For this purpose, [the] chief guard of my exalted threshold [BLANK] has been appointed agent (*mübaşir*) and dispatched.

Now you, the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*), when you [come to] meet all of the governors, *kadı*s or *kethüda*s mentioned in [this] noble order, they must deliver all of the money, animals and anything else of value [belonging to Mehmed Pasha]. Nothing of [this] must be lost or destroyed. You must be very careful, make a sealed record [of what you receive], in keeping with the *Şar'*, and deliver it to the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*) of the state. The aforementioned *kethüda*, treasurer (*hazinedar*) and public servants (*gedik sahibi*) – and their followers – must meet the deputy of the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*), appointing enough men to protect and guard him while resting and at all stages and stations of [his] route. [Every] effort must be exerted to have him arrive speedily, safe and sound, to the Asitane of my

felicity. In this connection, there must be no negligence on your part and [my firman] is written to this effect.

***MD* 115, No. 1888**

[Issued] toward the middle of Sha'ban 1119/November 1707
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon and Beirut, Ibrahim Pasha:

A letter has been sent to my threshold of felicity. In accordance with the earnest request (*ziyade iltimas*) [expressed in it] to take charge of the *avarız* taxes, the *vakif* register and the tax (*haraç*) on trees in the *kaza* of Beirut, which belongs to the *eyalet* of Sidon, [and] also in accordance with the imperial register of revenue (*defter-i hakani*), my noble order is issued [and sent] with the *kapıcıbaşı* of my exalted threshold, Mehmed, may his glory endure. Carry out this order in accordance to what is in the register. But the person called Sayyid Muhammad, one of the inhabitants of the town of Beirut, and his villainous friends have again assessed (*tahrir eder*) the *avarız* tax-paying households (*avarız hanesi*) and the tax (*haraç*) on trees in the aforesaid *kaza*. This causes harm to the poor and [impedes] the [proper] collection of taxes. To prevent this, a noble order was requested from me to exile the aforementioned Muhammad and his friends to some [unspecified] place. When the noble order arrives, you, the aforementioned *mirmiran,* must not exile the aforementioned Sayyid Muhammad to the island of Orat,[57] but must [instead] take down the names and descriptions of his villainous friends and report [them] to my state. Afterwards, act according to my noble order, as it will be issued.

***MD* 115, No. 1935**

1 Ramadan 1115/8 January 1704
Order to the former governor (*vali*) of Sidon-Beirut, Mehmed Pasha:

[To] you, the aforementioned vizier: an order has been issued that you reside in Haniye.[58] An agent (*mübaşir*) of the chief guards (*kapıcıbaşılar*) of my exalted threshold, has been appointed for this purpose. Now, do not make any delay or interrupt [your journey]. Immediately board the designated ship

57. Possibly a Turkish misspelling of the name of the island of Arwad, west of the town of Tartus, north of Tripoli.
58. Canea, on the island of Crete to which this former governor was apparently being exiled.

and come, with the knowledge of the agent referred to [above]. My majestic and exalted noble writ (*hatt-ı şerif*) has been issued concerning your residence in Haniye.

***MD* 115, No. 2642**
1 Ramadan 1115/8 January 1704
Copy [meant for the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, Ibrahim Pasha].

According to the *defterdar* of the treasury, there remains due from Ibrahim Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, apart from transfers and deliveries, the amount of 82,536 piasters from the *iltizam* of the *mukataat* of Sidon-Beirut for the year 1118. The *silahdar* of the privy chamber, Oman, is appointed to collect [the amount].

***MD* 115, No. 2794**
Late Jumada I, 1113/October–November 1701
Order to the viziers, *mirmiran*s, emirs, *kadı*s, *mütesellim*s [and] their *kethüda*s, [as well as] the commanders of janissaries, notables of provinces (*ayan-ı vilayet*), men of affairs (*iş adamlari*), *havas* supervisors (*zabitler*) and *vakif* superintendents along the route between Sidon-Beirut and the Asitane of my felicity:

Upon the arrival in any *kaza* of my firman and the coffer (*hazine*) from Sidon-Beirut, [the latter] must be stored in that place and guarded there by night. In order to forestall any danger, a sufficient number of musketeers must accompany it once it is dispatched [to the next stop] and protect it while it moves from place to place. Every one of you is to protect and guard it and deliver it to the other, sending it speedily, without delay, to the Asitane of my felicity. Anyone who delays, or who does not abide by the order to guard [it], will bring harm upon himself. Avoid oppression and aggression, [which is] contrary to the noble *Şar'*. Accordingly, [this order] is written.

***MD* 116, No. 271**
Mid-Dhu al-Hijja 1120/February 1709
Order to the *kadı*s of Sidon, Beirut, [BLANK] and [BLANK]:

The *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut was conferred upon the former *vali* of Basra, Khalil, on the fifteenth of Dhu al-Qa'da of this year, 1120. To administer the *eyalet* until the aforementioned vizier arrives in Sidon, the master of the

horses (*mirahur*) of the aforementioned vizier, Ahmed, is to be appointed deputy-governor (*mütesellim*).

Now upon the arrival of my noble order and until the arrival of the aforementioned vizier to his post, you, the aforementioned *kadı*s, [must take note that] the aforementioned *mütesellim* is to assume control (*zabt ve rabt*) and collect the revenues and dues [in the *eyalet*] according to the law and the real estate register (*tapu defteri*) and that no one else is to interfere or cause obstruction [to him]. Written to this effect.

***MD* 116, No. 1104**
Mid-Ramadan 1121/November 1709
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Khalil Pasha:

Ibrahim Pasha, the former *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, is [still] in that territory [and he] must be brought to account. In this particular case, a *kapıcıbaşı* of my exalted threshold is appointed agent (*mübaşir*). Now [to] you, the aforementioned vizier: upon the arrival of my noble order, the aforementioned *mirmiran* must be brought to the seat of my state with the knowledge of the aforementioned *kapıcıbaşı*. My exalted firman is issued to this effect.

## Military Affairs

***MD* 80, No. 885**
(Mid-Muharram 1022–mid-Safar 1023/March 1613–March 1614)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Safad, the *kadı* of Sidon and the warden (*dizdar*) of the fortress of Sidon:

It is a long-established custom for the fortress guards (*hisar erleri*) to live in the staterooms (*miri odalar*) in the tower of the fortress of Cilbah (*sic*) in the territory of Sidon. In the time of [Fakhr al-Din] ibn Maʿn, however, some people came to inhabit two or three [of these] rooms. As I have been informed that they control [the rooms] as owners, my noble firman has been issued with respect to the residence of the guards in the rooms that they previously occupied.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that if it was the long-established custom for the guards to live in these aforesaid rooms, they must again take residence in them, as before. Do not allow anyone from outside to inhabit them, but rebuff and forbid him. Take down [the names] of

those who do not desist and need to be reported [to Istanbul] and inform me of the actual state of affairs, so that anyone who does not duly obey my noble order will be disciplined.

***MD* 81, No. 34**

(Early Muharram 1022–mid-Safar 1023/February 1613–March 1614)
Order to Muhammad, *subaşı* of the infantry officers (*yayabaşılar*) in charge of the citadels of Sidon and Beirut:

My order has been issued to station fifteen janissaries in each of the citadels of Sidon and Beirut and ten janissaries in the tower of Emir Muhammad [in Beirut].[59] You and all the soldiers under your command from the aforesaid *taife* are to proceed to the citadel of Tripoli. In addition to this, you are to appoint an experienced commander to each company of janissaries you have left there [in Sidon-Beirut]. Order them not to leave their assigned places, so as to keep the people away from the citadels, and to do their best to perform the duty with which they are charged, on condition that they behave and avoid wronging or oppressing any individual. You are also to provide a sufficient number of horses at current prices and to provide for their [the janissaries'] provisions on a monthly basis, according to the *kanun*, so that they do not face any shortage. Do not stay there [in Sidon-Beirut] long, but proceed with your troops to Tripoli, to serve alongside Deveci Mehmed, who is on guard there. These are the contents of the sealed letter submitted by the *ağa* of my janissaries, Mustafa. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act accordingly and avoid anything contrary to it.

***MD* 81, No. 35**

(Early Muharram 1022–mid-Safar 1023/February 1613–March 1614)
Order to the *kadı* of Beirut and the warden (*dizdar*) of its citadel:

Maintaining and guarding the citadel of Beirut and the tower of Emir Muhammad is a matter of importance. The *ağa* of the janissaries, Mustafa, sent a letter concerning the assignment of fifteen troops (*nefer*) to guard the citadel and ten janissaries to guard the tower of Emir Muhammad. Accordingly, my noble order has been issued to station the aforesaid troops in the

59. This and the following order are obviously part of the arrangements made in the wake of the 1613–14 expedition against Fakhr al-Din Maʻn and the Druzes.

said citadel and tower. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act accordingly and assign the required troops (*taife*), dispatching them to guard the citadel of Beirut and the tower of Emir Muhammad. They are to stay inside and guard them properly. You are to guard against delay, negligence and laxity. Your negligence or excuses for not stationing the aforesaid troops in the citadel and tower will not be accepted, and you will be held responsible and reprimanded. Thus, act accordingly.

***MD* 111, No. 552**

Mid-Jumada I, 1111/November 1699
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, Kabalan Mehmed:

Sha'ban *Bölükbaşı,* [who has] retired from the regiment of *sekban*, is appointed squadron commander (*bölükbaşı*) of the *levend*. [This order] is written in accordance with the sealed record (*mahzar*) submitted by the agent (*vekil*) of the *serçeşme,* Hasan, the *basçavuş* and all other *bölükbaşı*s.

***MD* 111, No. 553**

Mid-Jumada I, 1111/November 1699

Copy to the head (*baş*) of the *bölükbaşı*s of Tripoli.

## Foreigners and Non-Muslims

***MD* 81, No. 183**

(Mid-Rabi' II, 1024–late Muharram 1025/April 1615–Februray 1616)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus:

Haj Kiwan,[60] of the Damascene janissary *bolükbaşi*s, has submitted a petition. He states that Ibrahim ibn Jirjis, a Christian (*dhimmi*) inhabitant of Damascus who used to work in his service, is in the fortress (*kala*) of Shaqif, and that he [Haj Kiwan] has placed him there with his men to protect

60. This is the same Haj Kiwan Muhibbi includes in his biographical dictionary and whose conduct in Damascus he condemns. He was finally killed by Fakhr al-Din Ma'n on 23 Muharram 1033/16 November 1623: Muhammad Amin ibn Fadlallah al-Muhibbi, *Khulsat al-athar fi a'yan al-qarn al-hadi 'ashar* (Beirut, n.d.), 3: 299–303. This is one of only two *Mühimme* documents that refer to Fakhr al-Din Ma'n's flight to Europe.

him from harm. He [Ibrahim ibn Jirjis] also has with him a Jew by the name of Isac.[61] They were together with him [Haj Kiwan] and ibn Ma‘n in the land of the Franks (*Frankistan*). He [Haj Kiwan] requests my noble order that they not be subjected to any insult or harm contrary to the *Şar‘*, and that they be allowed to go about their work [freely]. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act according to my order issued in this connection and stop anybody from insulting or harming the aforementioned contrary to the noble *Şar‘*.

***MD* 94, No. 90**

Early Dhu al-Hijja 1073/July 1663
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Safad and the *kadı*s of Sidon and Safad:

The deputy (*vekil*) of the ambassador of the Frankish king at the Asitane of my felicity, paragon of the notables of the Christian *millet*, Riyul [Raoul?], has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) [requesting] that impositions of money payments not be forcibly made on merchants working as money changers. You, the aforenamed *mirmiran*, must work for the satisfaction of these merchants in accordance with the written *ahitname* (capitulation agreement) and abandon any increase [of dues] on their effects, or their money. Do not impose on them and be at their service. Do not violate the *ahitname* with respect to the Frankish merchants and alleviate any harm [done them]. My noble order to [stop the impositions] and to avoid violating the imperial *ahitname* is [thus] issued.

***MD* 94, No. 127**

Early Rabi‘ II, 1074/November 1663
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Safad and to the *kadı*s, *mütesellim*s, *kethüda*s, *serdar*s of janissaries and all chiefs along the way to Safad, Sidon and Beirut:

Riyul [Raoul?], paragon of the notables of the Christian millet (*qudwat a‘yan al-millah al-masihiyyah*) of the Frankish merchants in my Asitane of

61. The name of this Isac appears on the list of Haj Kiwan’s family and followers as Ishak the Jew, 37 years old, in the permission granted to Haj Kiwan to stay in Florence, upon his request, by the Grand Duke of Tuscany; see Bulus Qara’li, *Fakhr al-Din al-Ma‘ni al-Thani, Hakim Lubnan* (Beirut, 1992), 232–3. The name of Ibrahim ibn Jirjis, however, is not on that list.

felicity, has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*). He reports that Ashyaqiyafi, the dragoman (*tercüman*) in the ports of the *eyalet*, has been dismissed and replaced by one of our chief dragomans, [a man] named Tumaz. Previously, ambassadors had expressed their satisfaction [with Ashyaqiyafi] and their gratitude [to him]. The dismissal of Ashyaqiyafi and the appointment of the aforementioned [Tumaz] in his place are for the better.

Anything that comes into the *kaza* of Nagda[62] must be protected, along the road and at the stations. Do not act contrary to the noble *Şar'* and the imperial *ahitname*. My noble order that you must act according to the *Şar'*, regulations (*kanun*) and the *ahitname* is issued and a noble order is given [to this effect].

62. Reference here must be to the town of Niğde in central Anatolia, but this part of the document has no direct relevance to the earlier part. It appears that the text of the order is incomplete.

# 2

# The Sancak/Eyalet of Tripoli

Originally organized as a *sancak* of the *eyalet* of Damascus, the territory of Tripoli was reorganized as an *eyalet* on its own for a few months in 1521 and then permanently after 1579. This territory extended along the Syrian coast from the southern limits of the Amanus mountains, in the north, to the gorge of al-Muamalatayn, which separated it from the territory of the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut, in the south. Along with the coastal towns of Latakia, Jabalah, Baniyas, Antartus (today Tartus), Tripoli, Batrun and Byblos (Jubayl), the *sancak/eyalet* of Tripoli included the mountain country of the Nusayris, or Alawites (Jibal al-'Alawiyyin) – the followers of an esoteric Shiite Muslim sect who have traditionally inhabited the hinterland of Latakia, Jabalah, Baniyas and Antartus – as well as the northern reaches of the Lebanon range, where the inhabitants were, in their vast majority, Maronite Christians. Except for Batrun and Jubayl, where population included Christians as well as Sunnite and Shiite Muslims, the coastal towns of the Tripoli territory – including Tripoli itself – appear to have been chiefly inhabited by Sunnite Muslims.

The strategic importance of this territory derived from the fact that the principal road from the seaport of Tripoli to Homs, in the Syrian interior, ran across the col known to geographers as the Syrian Saddle, which separates the Alawite from the Lebanon mountains. Because of the abundance of olive groves in the hills and valleys of the Alawite mountains and along the lower slopes of the Lebanon mountains, the Tripoli territory was noted for

the production of olive oil and the town of Tripoli, in particular, was famed for the manufacture and export of soap. According to the *Mühimme* documents, the soap that Tripoli produced appears to have been exported to Istanbul as well as to other parts of the Ottoman state.

From the time of the Ottoman conquest in 1516 until 1579, the affairs of the *sancak*/province were under the control of the Turkoman ‘Assaf emirs of Ghazir in Kisrawan. When the province of Tripoli was reconstituted in 1579, a new Turkoman family was put in charge – the Sayfas. Thereafter, the Sayfas usually held power until the death of the family's patriarch, Yusuf, in 1625. The Sayfas' relations with the Ottomans had their ups and downs and they were frequently dismissed as governors, mainly because of their failure to meet their financial obligations to the state, rather than for being rebellious, as were the Ma‘ns.

## Administrative and Fiscal Orders

***MD* 67, No. 144**
1 Rabi‘ I, 999/28 December 1590
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

Arrest the partisans of *Mir* Mansur,[1] Sulayman ibn Hubaysh, his brother, [BLANK], and Jirjis ibn ‘Ammus, in any way possible and seize the state revenue in their possession.

Upon the arrival of this noble order, you have to abide by it and imprison the aforementioned, taking the proper measures to arrest them and seize in full the state money in their possession.

***MD* 67, No. 145**
1 Rabi‘ I, 999/28 December 1590
Order to *Mir* Mansur,[2] the previous bey of [BLANK]:

It is necessary that the state money in the possession of your partisans, Abu

1. The reference here is to Mansur Assaf. The Assafs were a dynasty of Turkoman chiefs who controlled Kisrawan from the early sixteenth century until their extinction at the hands of the Sayfas of ‘Akkar and Tripoli in 1591. For further details on the dynasty, see K. Salibi, ‘Northern Lebanon Under the Dominance of Ğazir, 1517–1591’, *Arabica* 14 (1967), 144–66.
2. The same Mansur ‘Assaf referred to in the preceding order.

Sulayman ibn Hubaysh,[3] his brothers, [BLANK], and Jirjis ibn ‘Ammus be seized in full. I have commanded upon the arrival [of this order] that you must deliver the aforementioned to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli without delay. Arrest the aforementioned, wherever they are, and deliver them to the *mir-miran*. Beware of acting contrary to my noble order. This order is [thus] written.

***MD* 67, No. 146**
1 Rabi‘ I, 999/28 December 1590
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

It is necessary that the state money in the possession of Abu Yunus, Mansur Abu Sa‘dun and Abu ‘Ali Sulayman, partisans of *Mir* Mansur, the current bey of Hama, be seized. [Accordingly,] I have ordered the arrest of the aforementioned. Upon the arrival [of this noble order], you have to abide [by it] in this connection and pay special attention to the matter. Arrest them after planning and preparing well and send them to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli.

***MD* 73, No. 437**
1 Ramadan 1003/10 May 1595
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli and the *kadıs* of Hama and Tartus:

Muhammad, Salim, Yusuf, Habib and Ahmad, the sons of Na‘um, have submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) to my exalted threshold, saying: ‘The *kethüda* of the *sancakbeyi* of Jablah, whose name is Hacı Yusuf, actually attacked our village with 70–80 cavalry, plundered our horses, and arrested and imprisoned us. After they tortured us and inflicted injustice upon us, they took as a fine from the aforementioned Muhammad, 3200 piasters, from the aforementioned Salim, 3000 piasters, from the aforementioned Ahmad, 1500 piasters, from the aforementioned Habib, 1200 piasters, and from Yusuf, 2000 piasters, contrary to the *Şar‘* and regulations, and [in] an act of aggression.’ I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you look into the matter and restore to them what has been illegally taken. If he does not give back these rights, send a report to my threshold of felicity.

3. In the original, Ibn Habash, but the Maronite Hubaysh family are known to have been the advisors to the ‘Assafs.

**_MD_ 73, No. 453**
4 Ramadan 1003/13 May 1595
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

The collection of taxes for the payment of salaries is a particular function of yours. Accordingly, you are bound to collect old and new revenue and the arrears (*bakaya*) from the *bey*s of the Druzes.[4] In general, you are to collect the maximum possible amount of new taxes for the salaries of soldiers (*kul*) by any means and as soon as possible, and send [the amount] to my threshold of felicity.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you do not compare (*kıyas etme*) the present occasion to others. With respect to state money in arrears, you must pay no attention to previous orders, but act now, according to my present noble order, as explained above. Collect old and new revenue and the arrears from the *bey*s of the Druzes[5] in any way you can and in full, sending [the amount] as soon as possible to my threshold of felicity for the salaries of soldiers. I depend upon you in this matter, especially for the collection of state money. Pay no attention to orders sent earlier. You are bound by my present order. Collect the money (*akçeler*) to the fullest extent [possible] and send it quickly, exerting in this your best efforts.

**_MD_ 78, No. 1562**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *defterdar* of Damascus:

Some villages (*karye*) and farms (*mezraa*) on the imperial land (*has-ı hümayun*) belonging to the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Tripoli have been rented to regimental commanders (*bölükbaşı*) among the janissaries of Damascus and to members of the janissary [corps]. Moreover, the state money is not properly controlled. In addition, it has reached my exalted ears that [the

4. The territory of Tripoli, as defined in the introduction to this section, had no Druze *bey*s. At this particular time, however, the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut, where almost all the Druzes of Lebanon lived, was being attached to the province of Tripoli.
5. Clearly the Ottomans were still having trouble collecting taxes from Druze regions. These regions were generally outside the control of the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, except perhaps for a very short time in the 1590s, when these areas became nominally part of the province of Tripoli, see note 4 above.

janissaries] oppress the people (*reaya*). Hence, my noble firman has been issued, [ordering] that the villages and farms on imperial land not be assigned to the janissaries of Damascus.[6]

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] and in accordance with my exalted firman, that you must not rent villages and farms on imperial land in the aforesaid *eyalet* to regimental commanders among the janissaries of Damascus, or to [any] members of the janissary [corps]. Henceforth, the janissaries of Damascus must not control imperial land. The janissaries are not to interfere in any way. Inform me in writing of the names and descriptions of those who have been barred [from this practice]. To restore justice, my noble order has been issued.

***MD* 79, No. 880**
(Mid-Muharram 1019–late Dhu al-Hijja 1020/April 1610–February–March 1612)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and the *defterdar* of Tripoli:

You, the *defterdar*, have sent me a letter reporting that, from earlier times until now, a commanding officer (*serdar*) with men from among the soldiers (*kul*) of Damascus or a *bölükbaşı* of the Damascene janissaries have been appointed to collect taxes for the treasury of Tripoli; that ʻAli Idris, one of the *bölükbaşı*s of the Damascene janissaries, is fit for this [position]; that he is qualified for the task in every way, having shown much ability in the said position; that he is active and correct, and has been appointed *serdar* in this blessed year for the aforesaid treasury [of Tripoli]; [that] some of the janissaries of my exalted threshold have arrived from Aleppo with a memorandum (*tezkere*) from their officer, claiming that they have been appointed to collect taxes for the treasury of Tripoli; and [that] this is contrary to custom and a cause for disturbance. You, *defterdar*, have requested my noble order to appoint the aforementioned ʻAli *Bölükbaşı* [Idris] to the job of *serdar* and to forbid any other janissary from interfering in the collection of taxes by a memorandum from their officer unless an independent noble order arrives to this effect. Accordingly, I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that if the aforementioned ʻAli Bölükbaşı is, as you report, functioning as *serdar* for the aforesaid treasury, that you so appoint him, in his perfection and uprightness, as has long been the case, and [that you] forbid

6. This was a widespread practice in the Syrian provinces.

anyone to behave contrary to custom on the basis of a memorandum without the arrival of a noble order.

***MD* 80, No. 66**

(Early Muharram 1022–mid-Safar 1023/February 1613–March 1614)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

Since days of old, the remuneration for poll-tax collection (*avarız-ı gulamiye*) in the *eyalet* of Tripoli has been granted to the *kapıcılar kethüdası* in the Asitane of my felicity. In this blessed year, the *avarız-ı gulamiye* is awarded to the currently appointed *kapıcılar kethüdası*, Mustafa, and a noble order has been issued by the finance department (*maliye*) [to this effect]. I command that it be observed. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act in accordance with the noble order issued by the finance department, collecting the *avarız-ı gulamiye* of the said *eyalet* and delivering it to the men who arrive on behalf of the aforementioned [Mustafa], without allowing anyone else to interfere in the matter.

***MD* 81, No. 24**

(Mid-Rabi‘ II, 1024–late Muharram 1025/May 1615–February 1616)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Tripoli:

Muhammad, the supervisor of the *vakif*s in Tripoli and Aleppo [that were bequeathed by] Mehmed Pasha – who died after he had been a *sadrı azam* – has sent a letter. He reports that two shops near the port of Tripoli, which rent for 48 piasters a year, are part of the aforesaid *vakif*. For some years [now], the *emin*s of the said port have turned the two shops into a salt storehouse, without paying the set rent. [The man] further reports that the people of the village of Kufur have also not paid what is required of them for the last ten years. Therefore, I command that the rent of the two shops and the fixed (*maktu*) revenue of the said village, and of the *vakif*, be brought under control on behalf of its supervisor.

Upon the arrival [of this order], you must collect what remains unpaid of the rent of the two shops and the revenue of the village from the *emin*s and the [other people] concerned, according to the *Şar‘*, and restore [the amount] to the *vakif*. You must also pass on control of the *vakif* to its supervisor and not allow any of the *emin*s, workers, or others to influence this [decision] or obstruct it. In general, it is definitely not to my imperial satisfaction to waste

a single *akçe* of the aforementioned's *vakif* in Tripoli. In this connection, you have to be alert and protect the commercial building (*han)*, mill and all the *vakif*s of the aforementioned and help the person in charge of collecting their revenue, exerting yourself to make the *vakif*s productive.

***MD* 101, No. 235**

Early Ramadan 1102/May–June 1691
Order to the *vali* of Tripoli, Vizier Mustafa Pasha:

The *beylerbeyi* of Damascus, Murtada Pasha, has submitted a petition (a*rzuhal*) to my imperial army (*ordu-yi hümayun*) concerning the dues (*rüsumat*) that belong to the *nahiye*s in the said *eyalet* for this year. You, the aforementioned vizier, collected the dues for the year 1102 at the beginning of Muharram. When it was time to collect the dues for [subsequent] years, the aforementioned *mirmiran* was unable to collect anything, [as he was] then commanded to join the imperial campaign, which is a necessity. He has requested my imperial order (*hüküm-i hümayun*) [on this matter].

Now, for this [purpose], the dues belonging to the *nahiye*s according to the signed and sealed register submitted by the *kadı* of Damascus, as well as the dues you have collected, continue to belong to your successors. Send the portion belonging to the aforementioned *mirmiran* as it stands today, as of [the date of] his appointment, and deliver it to his agent. This order is written to this effect.

***MD* 106, No. 301**

Late Ramadan 1106/May 1695
Order to Arslan, *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli and supervisor and treasurer of revenue:

[To] you the aforementioned *mirmiran*: for the taxes of the *sancak* of Salamiyah, the districts (*mukataat*) of Tripoli and the district (*mukataa*) of Baalbek, you must deliver to the grand vizier, Mehmed Pasha, 32,747 piasters for the year 1105, and the same amount for Salamiyah for the year 1106. [Act] quickly to deliver the amounts to the aforementioned as soon as possible, using a special agent who is loyal and dependable and will bring them swiftly to the seat of my state and deliver them immediately. Be diligent [in this]. Act according to my noble issued order and the [order issued] by the finance department (*maliye*).

***MD* 114, No. 65**
Mid-Ramadan 1114/January–February 1703
Order to the *vali*s, *kadı*s and *dizdar*s of fortresses in Tripoli and Sidon-Beirut:

Is Khalil, the secretary (*telhisi*) of Mustafa Pasha, the late grand vizier, [to be] found in Tripoli, Sidon, or Beirut?

Wherever he is found, he is to be captured and imprisoned in the citadel. This is written so that you report.

***MD* 115, No. 2641**
Early Safar 1120/April 1708
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Mehmed:

[To] you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*: according to the *defterdar* of my treasury (*hazine-i amire*), there remains due from you for the *iltizam* of the *mukataat* of Tripoli for the year 1118, apart from transfers and deliveries, [the amount of] 37,685 piasters.

Earlier, my noble order was issued to have the amount mentioned above sent in full to my treasury for [the payment of] salaries (*mevacib*) and Ibrahim was appointed agent (*mübaşir*) and sent [for the purpose]. There is no excuse for not completing the payment for the said year. Now is the time to send [the money], since it is the time for *mevacib* [to be paid]; if the sum mentioned above does not arrive, you will be deserving of severe and certain punishment.

Now, upon the arrival [of this order], as explained above, and as earlier orders [have commanded], pay the money immediately and send it, [otherwise] you will be subject to imperial wrath and will not be safe in any way. Consider [the matter] and what will happen to you and do not delay. Quickly deliver the said amount to the treasury: send it to the Asitane of my felicity, deliver it to my treasury (*hazine-i amire*) without delay and clear your debt (*ibra-i zimmet*). The said amount must arrive quickly. If there is a probability that it will not arrive, do not imagine that your head and soul will be safe. This is certain and already decided. Therefore, act with caution and attention.

And you, the aforementioned *mübaşir*, set out for that region. Should the time come to pay the *mevacib* and you have not [yet] delivered the money, you will also be deserving of punishment. As *mübaşir*, collect the said

amount before the time [that it is due]. There is no excuse [for not doing so]. Afterwards, the said amount must be quickly delivered to the treasury. Should the contrary happen, you will be deserving of punishment. Consider the consequences from the beginning. Therefore, take care to perform your duty on time and to exert yourself, as [is] appropriate. My exalted firman is issued to this effect.

## ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

***MD* 70, No. 80**
26 Jumada II, 1001/30 March 1593
Order to the *beylerbeyi, kadı* and *defterdar* of Tripoli:

The captains of the ships calling on Tripoli to purchase soap have submitted a petition (*arzuhal)*. They report that, upon their arrival in Tripoli to take soap for the provisioning of Istanbul, your deputy governors *(mütesellim*s*),* Hasan and Çavuş, not only forbade them to take the soap, but also took the sails of the ship and forced each [captain] to pay 70 or 80 piasters. Then, [they] arrested those who did not pay, imprisoned them and did not release them until they had taken 20 or 30 piasters from each; and they did not sell them any soap. Since the sale of soap to others results in a shortage in Istanbul, I command the restoration of the money taken [from the said captains] and the non-sale of soap to any but the ships arriving for the provisioning of Istanbul.

Upon the arrival [of this order], you must observe it. If the two aforementioned *müteselllim*s wronged the ships' captains [while they were] coming to take soap for the provisioning of Istanbul, as explained, seizing their money contrary to the *Şar'*, and [the matter] is confirmed, you must restore the money [to the said captains] in full; furthermore, you must not sell [soap] to ships coming from elsewhere until the captains of the ships coming for the provisioning of Istanbul have taken all they need of soap and other provisions in full, because the provisioning of Istanbul is an important matter. Beware of carelessness and negligence.

***MD* 71, No. 548**
(Early Ramadan 1001–late Jumada II, 1002/June 1593–March 1594)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Tripoli:

Currently, [the] divinely guarded [city of] Istanbul suffers greatly from shortages of soap, olive oil and other provisions of this sort. Some ships' captains do not deliver the provisions they bring from [your] parts to Istanbul, but drop anchor in the port of Salonika and other parts of Rumelia. Everyone along the coast in that area was informed of this. Now, after such occurrences, ships' captains and merchants bringing provisions to Istanbul from the interior must obtain a document from the superintendent of the market (*ihtisap emini*), specifying the amount of provisions [carried], and patrols (*asker*) must be assigned to [your] parts to supervise the loading of ships in [your] province, keeping a record of the amount of provisions on each ship [and] the names of [the] sailors and the owners of [the provisions].

***MD* 78, No. 309**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *defterdar* of Tripoli:

In the past, the soap that used to be made in Tripoli was of the highest quality. Now, the material is not pure and the soap is unsuitable for use. Let it be known that, from now on, soap must not be produced in this inferior way, but must be produced in the old way, [and be] of the highest quality.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act accordingly: summon the soap-makers in the area and point out to them emphatically that they must not produce inferior soap, but produce [it] in the old way, [so that it is] soap of high quality. Pay attention to [soap] manufacture. Act according to what the situation dictates and put things right.

***MD* 78, No. 310**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to aforementioned [*beylerbeyi*] and *kadı* and *defterdar* [of Tripoli]:

Presently, *akçe* coins in the [Tripoli] area are being forged and adulterated and this is causing some disturbance. You are held responsible and subject to reprimand (*mesul ve muateb*) for this. Now, there must be no forgery and no adulteration of the *akçe,* which must be correct in measure and full in weight. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by it and that there be no forgery of the *akçe.* In accordance with my exalted firman, the *akçe* must be of correct measure and full weight. Punish anyone who acts to the contrary.

## Safety of Highways and Coastal Areas

***MD* 78, No. 1561**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

The previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli has sent to my threshold of felicity a register of cases (*kazaya defteri*). Near a village called [BLANK], you have appointed a courageous and upright person to the fortress (*kala*) in the defile (*boğaz*) of the aforesaid village,[7] in order to preserve the fortress and prevent harm from befalling travellers (*ebna-yı sebil*). The fortress should never be left unattended. The warden (*emin*) of the fortress near the aforesaid village should be courageous and capable of controlling the area without inflicting any harm on the life or wealth of any traveller. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] and in accordance with the previous [one], that no harm should befall any traveller, of life or of wealth, in the aforesaid place, this being the condition for appointment in the aforesaid place. You are to maintain security and guard [the area] as the situation requires.

***MD* 78, No. 1563 A**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
The previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Yusuf.[8]
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

A register of cases has been sent to my exalted threshold [stating that], opposite the village of Antartus, which belongs to Tripoli, there is an island called Arwad, where the ships and galleons of the wicked infidels always call, [and that they] engage in piracy, attack villages and *nahiye*s, plunder money and provisions from the people (*reaya*), take Muslims captive and inflict losses upon them. Such people are vile. The people of the area have therefore requested [permission] to build a fortress at their own expense to guard [against these infidels] and have asked for a noble order to this effect.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by it, seeing to it that the fortress to be built is not seized by villains (*eşkıya*) and

7. The fortress referred to above could be that of Musayliha, which falls on a defile of land south of Tripoli.
8. This is Yusuf Sayfa, who apparently was not then the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli; perhaps because of his local influence, the order is addressed to him as well.

[that those who man it] do not harm any passers-by, merchants, or travellers. Get the fortress built with the assistance of the people and with their money, and guard the aforesaid place from infidels and other villains.

***MD* 78, No. 1563b**

(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

The previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Yusuf,[9] has sent a register of cases to my exalted threshold [stating] that the village near the seacoast called Antartus, which belongs to the aforesaid *eyalet*, is frequented by the ships of the wicked infidels who take people captive, plunder their money and possessions, and do all other kinds of harm. Because of this, the people of the aforesaid village have requested [permission] to build and fortify, at their own expense, a fortress on the seacoast. In order to have [this fortress] built and in accordance with the noble order issued by the honourable commander-in chief (*serdar*), my imperial order makes their request known [to you]. I command the building [of the fortress] in accordance with my noble order. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that the fortress be built in the aforesaid place, without causing harm to the territory (*memalik-i mahruse*) and without turning it into a place where villains fortify themselves. Accordingly, you are to build the fortress for the people of the aforesaid village and guard this village and all other territories from the infidel’s ships.

***MD* 78, No. 1564**

(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

The previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Yusuf,[10] has sent a register of cases to my exalted threshold [stating that] a fortress has recently been built near the village of Antartus, in accordance with my firman. There is a need for men to hold the fortress. Ten men are to be detailed from each of the fortress of [BLANK] and the fortress of Salamiyah, and assigned to the aforesaid fortress. A noble order has been requested to have these men detailed.

9. Again, the reference is to Yusuf Sayfa.
10. Yusuf Sayfa.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by it and that you detail ten men from each of the aforesaid fortresses and send them to the newly built fortress to hold it. You must see to it that the said men inflict no harm or injustice [on the people].

***MD* 78, No. 1565**
(Early Rabiʿ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Cyprus:

The previous *beylerbeyi* of, Yusuf,[11] has sent a register of cases to the threshold of felicity [stating that], in order to protect the village of Antartus – which belongs to Tripoli and which lies on the seacoast – from attacks by infidel ships, a fortress was recently built in accordance with my firman. Guns are needed for the aforesaid fortress. Guns are made on the island of Cyprus. [Yusuf] asks for ten guns to be made.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] and in accordance with the above order, that ten guns be made on the island of Cyprus and delivered for the defence of the aforesaid fortress.

***MD* 94, No. 126**
Early Rabiʿ I, 1074/October 1663
Order to the *kadı*s, *mütesellim*s, *kethüda*s*,* *serdar*s of janissaries and all *dizdar*s (wardens) along the way from Tripoli to the Asitane of my felicity:

When the coffer (*hazine*) presently on its way to the Asitane of my felicity reaches the *kaza* of Nagda, take it inside, keep it under guard, and appoint soldiers to watch over it carefully. In order to secure its delivery, each one is to pass it on to the other until it arrives [in Istanbul].

## NUSAYRIS

***MD* 102, No. 275**
Early Safar 1103/October 1691
Order to the *vali* of Tripoli, Mustafa Pasha, and its *kadı*:

The villains (*şakiler*) known as Muhanna ibn Makhluf, Sulayman ibn

11. Yusuf Sayfa. These four orders indicate the continuing influence that he enjoyed even when he was out of office.

Mahfuz, Muhammad ibn Salwa and Shahin ibn Salhab, chieftains (*mukaddemler*) of the Nusayri sect (*taife*) who live in the mountains of the *sancak* of Jablah; and also, Jandab Mustafa, an inhabitant of the *nahiye* of Sahyun,[12] [and] Uzun oğlu Mehmed, Kethüda oğlu Harb, Mehmed and Kara ʻUmar, and Hacı Hüseyn, [inhabitants] of the *nahiye* of Bayezid,[13] are all wicked [men]. In addition to their obstruction of tax collection, they habitually cause damage to the land and people. Their names have been entered into the chief accountancy register (*baş muhasebe*) so that they may all be executed according to the *Şarʻ* or exiled to another region (*iklim*). A firman has been issued to this effect and entered in the register of the chief accountancy (*baş muhasebe*).

## Shiʻite Rebellion in Northern Lebanon

***MD* 102, No. 274**
Early Safar 1103/October 1691
Order to the *sancakbeyi*s and *kadı*s of the *eyalet* of Damascus:

The villainous (*eşkıya*) *Kızılbaş* currently assembled at Sarhan[14] are continuously engaged in acts of plunder and mischief (*fesad*). [They also] control the vicinities of cities and villages in those parts [of the *eyalet*], which [consequently] tend to remain uncultivated (*bur*), and try to subdue the population by oppression and harmful misdeeds. Because of their presence in the *nahiye*s and villages of the said *sancak*s (*elviye*), there is no way to collect the taxes. [Therefore,] my exalted firman is issued, as entered in the chief accountancy register [*baş muhasebe*], and must be promptly implemented. When these villains arrive [in your region], do not allow them to collect revenue from the areas under your control. [Attack] the villainous *Kızılbaş* who fall within your *liva* or *kaza* and do what is needed to give satisfaction [to the people]. Kill those who deserve to be killed, according to the *Şarʻ*. [As for] those who ought to be deported, act according to the

12. In the Alawite Mountains in present-day Syria.
13. In the *sancak* of Sis in the Anatolian-Syrian borderland.
14. Place name is not legible, but it is clear from the primary recepient of the order and the recepients of the copies that it is in one of the three Syrian provinces: Damascus, Tripoli, or Sidon.

records of the chief accountancy register (*baş muhasebe defterlerine kayd*). My exalted firman is issued and written to this effect.

Copy written, as explained above, to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı*s in the province of Damascus.

Copy written, as explained above, to all the *sancakbeyi*s and *kadı*s in the *eyalet* of Damascus.

Copy written, as explained above, to ibn Ma'n.

Copy written, as explained above, to ibn Shihab.

***MD* 102, No. 708**

Late Jumada II, 1103/March 1692

Order to the *vali, molla* [BLANK] and *kadı* of Tripoli:

For several years, the villainous heretics (*revafid*) who live in the mountains of the territory of Tripoli have come to control its districts. They steal the water buffaloes (*camus*), the hawks (*sakr*) and the sheep of the poor and of the general inhabitants of the *vilayet*. They kill people, raid [their properties] and commit all acts of villainy. Their aggression increases by the day. [Consequently,] the poor subjects (*reaya*) are no longer able to pay [their] taxes and most of them have left [their] homeland (*vatan*) – abandoned their houses and fled. This is the situation. The pasha or his deputies cannot collect the taxes. Some of the aforesaid villains have been captured and imprisoned in the citadel of Tripoli. Unless the others are [also] captured and punished, the conditions of the subjects will certainly worsen. [All of] this has been reported to me in a statement (*mahzar*). It is essential and important that the oppression and aggression of the aforesaid be eliminated, [both] against the territory and against the people.

Now [to] you, the aforementioned vizier: those [who] engage in villainy in general as well as the aforementioned are to be arrested by any means [necessary] and punished according to the *Şar'*. This order has been issued so that you do what needs to be done.

Copy written to the *beylerbeyi* and *molla* of Damascus and Homs.

Copy written to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Sidon-Beirut.

***MD* 104, p No. 662**

Early Jumada II, 1104/February 1693

Order to the *vali* of Tripoli, Vizier Ali Pasha:

The *Kızılbaş*[15] sect (*taife*), which has appeared in the mountains of the *eyalet* of Tripoli, inhabits rugged areas. It has illegally come to control the state tax farms, usurping the revenues *(mahsulat)* due to the treasury (*beyt-ül mal*) of the Muslims according to the *Şar'* register. Moreover, [these *Kızılbaş*] have oppressed and wronged the poor subjects beyond limit, so that [the latter] are no longer capable of protecting their families or guarding their animals, sheep, crops and fruit trees. These aforesaid villains have refused to observe the noble *Şar'* or obey the *vali*s. Where the state revenue is concerned, they have acted unjustly and their aggression against the poor subjects is unprecedented. Their presence in these areas causes ruin and disturbance to local fiscal agents (*mübaşirin*) and to the people. You have reported that it is necessary to remove them from these areas, to eliminate their oppression and aggression against the poor subjects, and to prevent the damage that they do to the state revenue.

[In this connection,] my noble order has been issued to the *vali*s of Damascus and Sidon-Beirut, and [to] ibn Ma'n. They will contact you. Assess [the situation] and agree with them on a particular and specified time to move against the aforesaid community (*taife*) in the mountainous regions where they live and fortify themselves. Capture all of the aforesaid villains and punish them as they deserve, according to the *Şar'*. Ensure the security of all of the poor subjects in these areas against their villainy and disturbance, and liberate their money and provisions from the control [of these *Kızılbaş*]. Improve the conditions of the subjects, develop the villages and tax farms, and enrich the treasury of Tripoli. My imperial directive (*tenbih-i hümayun*) is [thus] issued and you are to abide by it and act.

Now [to] you, the aforementioned vizier: when you receive my noble order, contact the two aforementioned [*vali*s] and ibn Ma'n. In accordance with your own judgement and after agreement [with the three], move against the aforesaid community (*taife*) at a specified time, [attacking them] in the mountains where they live and are fortified. Capture all of the aforesaid villains and punish them with what they deserve, according to the *Şar'*. Ensure the security of the poor subjects against their villainy and free their money and provisions from their control. Promote the conditions of the subjects,

15. The term *Kızılbaş* here refers to the Himadahs of Jubayl (Byblos) who, according to Duwayhi, had originally arrived in Lebanon as an *'ajami* (that is, Persian) clan from Tabriz (the *Kızılbaş* heartland in Azerbaijan) after its conquest by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in 1534. See Duwayhi, *Tarikh al-azminah,* 258.

develop the villages and tax farms and enrich the treasury of Tripoli. In order to [have you] abide [by these instructions], this has been written.

***MD* 104, No. 663**
Early Jumada II, 1104/February 1693
Order to the *vali* of Damascus, Vizier Mustafa Pasha:

The *Kızılbaş* sect (*taife*), which has appeared in the mountains of the *vilayet* of Tripoli, inhabits rugged areas. It has illegally come to control state tax farms, usurping the revenues due to the treasury (*beyt-ül mal*) of the Muslims according to the *Şar'* register. Moreover, [these *Kızılbaş*] have [so] oppressed and wronged the poor subjects in those areas, that [the latter] are no longer capable of protecting their families or guarding their money, provisions, animals, sheep, crops and fruit trees. These aforesaid villains have refused to observe the noble *Şar'* or obey the *vali*s. Where the state revenue is concerned, they have acted unjustly and their oppression and aggression against the poor subjects is unprecedented. Their presence in those areas causes ruin and disturbance to the [fiscal] agents (*mübaşirin*) and to the people. My vizier, Ali Pasha, the incumbent *vali* of Tripoli, has reported that it is necessary to remove them from those areas, to eliminate their oppression and aggression against the poor subjects and to prevent the damage that they do to state revenue.

In this connection, you, the aforementioned vizier [Mustafa Pasha], are ordered and appointed along with the aforementioned vizier [Ali Pasha], the *vali* of Tripoli, my vizier, Ahmed Pasha, the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, and ibn Ma'n. Now, when you receive my noble order, contact the *vali* of Tripoli. At a particular and specified time that [you both] deem appropriate, move against the aforesaid sect (*taife*) in the mountainous areas where they live and fortify themselves. Capture all of the aforesaid villains and punish them as they deserve, according to the *Şar'*. Ensure the security of the poor subjects in those areas against their villainy and disturbance, and liberate their money and provisions from their [the *Kızılbaş*'s] control. Improve the conditions of the subjects, develop the villages and tax farms, and enrich the treasury of Tripoli. You are to act and abide [by these commands].

The *vali* of Tripoli, the aforementioned vizier, and my current chief treasurer (*baş defterdar*), Ahmed, have reported [what has been] explained above. [To] you, the aforementioned vizier: upon the arrival [of this order], contact the *vali* of Tripoli, the aforementioned vizier and, as you [both] deem

appropriate, move at a particular and specified time against the aforesaid sect (*taife*) in the mountains where they live and are fortified. Capture all of the aforesaid villains and punish them as they deserve, according to the *Şar'*. Ensure the security of all of the poor subjects in those areas against their villainy and disturbance, and liberate their money and provisions from their [the *Kızılbaş*'s] control. Improve the conditions of the subjects, develop the villages and tax farms and enrich the treasury of Tripoli. You are to act and abide [by these commands] and according to the exalted content of my noble order. Let there be no excuse for illegal aggression against the subjects.

***MD* 104, No. 664**
Copy to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Ahmed Pasha.

***MD* 104, No. 665**
Copy written to [Ahmad] ibn Ma'n.

## Other Rebellions

***MD* 117, No. 322**
Early Safar 1123/March 1711
Order to the vali of Tripoli, Vizier Hasan Pasha:

Shaykh Shadid al-Nasr and his cousins Khalil and 'Abd al-Malik, are villains who live in 'Akkar, in the *muqataat* of Tripoli. They have gathered around themselves forty to fifty mounted (*suvari*) villains and have started to go around in the *nahiye*s and villages seizing the tools, fodder and food (*yem ve yemek*) of the poor subjects. Furthermore, they hold up travellers, plunder their money and possessions and obstruct the collection of taxes. When you, the aforementioned vizier, sent men [troops] to remove their oppression and aggression against the people of the province, the aforementioned [villains] disappeared. They are [still living] in some [unknown] place, contrary to the obedience [required] by the *Şar'*. [Meanwhile,] their villainy and trouble and the harm they inflict on the poor people of the area, as well as [the latter's] complaints, have increased. The aforementioned villains are to be removed from their places, exiled to the island of Cyprus and imprisoned in the citadel to reform them. [This measure] will ensure the comfort of the subjects. This [order] is written to be implemented as explained above, [in response] to your request and report [*arz*], for the comfort and security of the subjects.

## Grants

**MD 50, No. 314**
(Late Rabi‘ II, 991–late Ramadan 993/May 1583–September 1585)
The *(müteferrika)* of the exalted threshold:

One of the governors of the Druzes in the *sancak* of Tripoli, a [certain] ibn Sayfa,[16] has paid on behalf of Yusuf [Sayfa] the sum of 24,000 [which is] due for the *zeamet.* He has also made payments of state money in arrears. This indicates complete obedience. In return for this service, he is to be attached, in accordance with the honourable order, to the *müteferrika* of the exalted threshold.

**MD 50, No. 813**
(Late Rabi‘ II, 991–late Ramadan 993/May 1583–September 1585)
Homs.
Clerk (*katip*) of the *timar*, Husayn.

Upon the recommendation of the *defterdar* of Tripoli, he is to be awarded a promotion of 1500 *akçe*s.

## Judicial Cases Involving the Sayfas

**MD 78, No. 608**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli and the *sancakbeyi* of Beirut:

A Jew called Orham has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) to my exalted threshold. He received 10,000 piastres as his right from Yusuf, the previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli,[17] and sent it to a man from the Jewish community (*taife*) who is [also] called Orham. [This second Orham] took the aforesaid sum of money, sent provisions worth the amount of 3000 piasters to the aforementioned [first] Orham, and continued to owe 6000 piasters of the original amount to him; [the first Orham] secured a receipt and a legal document

16. The Sayfas are known to have been Sunnite rather than Druze, as the document states. This is not the only case in the *Mühimme* documents where non-Druzes are confused with Druzes.
17. The reference here is to Yusuf Sayfa.

*(sicil ve hüccet)* [to that effect]. Now, when asked for the [outstanding] amount, [the second Orham] used trickery, claiming that he had deposited it for safekeeping (*emanet*) with someone in Tripoli. Earlier, a noble order was sent to have [this Orham] imprisoned until the disputed sum was found with the one [holding it] and collected; [this order] was purportedly carried out by the preceding emir. [The prisoner] must not be released so long as [efforts] to collect [the sum] continue.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] and as the earlier order decreed, that you look into the matter. According to what has been submitted, the sum of money in fact remains unpaid by the aforementioned, as the receipt and legal document demonstrate. Therefore, if there is any evasiveness, act according to the legal document in your possession. If the sum deposited by the aforementioned is found with some holder, collect it in full from the person who has it, in accordance with the *Şar'* [and] with the knowledge of the aforementioned. Until the amount is collected in full, without any deduction, do not release the aforementioned Orham from prison. See to it that you carry out what is required in this regard.

***MD* 79, p. 244, No. 608**
13 Safar 1019/7 May 1610
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli and its *kadı,* and to the *kapıcıbaşı* of my exalted threshold, Iskender, appointed to work there:

My previous vizier, Hafiz Ahmad Pasha, is entitled to an annuity from the treasury of Tripoli, which is estimated at 63 loads of *akçe*s. He sent a person called Himmet, his *kapıcıbaşı,* and two of his servants to collect the said amount. Himmet and the two other men were killed at the hands of ibn Sayfa,[18] the previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, and their possessions were stolen. They were put in a tightly closed sack and thrown into the water under a bridge. When blood money was demanded for the aforementioned, the response was that the aforementioned Himmet had killed the servants. But the slippers of the servants and some of their effects were placed in the room of the aforementioned Himmet [to incriminate him]. What has been said about

18. Yusuf Sayfa is reported to have committed similar acts against merchants and other individuals. For further details, see A. Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships*, 39–40, 64–6.

his killing the servants is a plain lie. Previously, a noble order was sent in this connection, asking for the punishment of the murderers.

Accordingly, my exalted firman is issued to arrest those who killed the aforementioned persons and punish them. I have commanded that upon the arrival [of this order], you must personally observe it, arrest the murderers in any manner possible, execute the necessary punishment against those who are proven guilty of murder in accordance with the *Şar'* and report whatever of the case needs to be reported back to me.

[To] you, the *kapıcıbaşı*: you will certainly be questioned about this matter when you return to Asitane. Therefore, you must abide by this order and do what is required in accordance with my noble order, since you are responsible for the punishment of the murderers according to the *Şar'* and you stand to be blamed. Accordingly, you must abide by [this order], wasting not a single moment in pursuing the matter. If any negligence or carelessness occurs this time, it has been decided that my *kapıcıbaşı* will be sent from Asitane [to attend to the affair]. You have to write and report to me in a detailed manner on the day that this order arrives.

***MD* 80, No. 871**

(Early Muharram 1022–mid-Safar 1023/February 1613–March 1614)
Order to previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Yusuf, and to the *kadı* of Tripoli:

Bektaş, one of the men of *emir-ül ümera* Mustafa, the current *defterdar* of Anatolia in the Asitane of my felicity and the previous *beylerbeyi* of [BLANK], was sent to [the Tripoli] area. Upon his arrival, your son, the current *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, *emir-ül ümera* Husayn,[19] raided the room of the aforementioned Bektaş and tried to kill him, but he managed to escape. As I have been informed that [your son] has frequently wronged and oppressed [people] in the aforesaid manner, my noble order has been issued that a legal investigation [of the matter] be conducted and [that] justice be done. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by it properly in this connection. After the matter is legally established, collect without fail the right [indemnity] due according to the *Şar'* and [restore] it, whatever it might be, to the aforementioned [Bektaş] from the aforementioned Husayn, delivering it to his agent who will arrive [in Tripoli for the

19. The reference here is to Husayn Sayfa, the son of Yusuf Sayfa, who was notorious for his wrongdoings; for details, see Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships*, 40–1, 62–3.

purpose] and sending it here [to Istanbul]. Do not be negligent or tolerant in this connection.

***MD* 80, No. 890**
Dhu al-Hijja 1022/March 1614
Order to Vizier Ahmad Pasha in the government [*hükümet]* of Damascus and to its *kadı*:

A petition (*arzuhal*) has been submitted to the threshold of my felicity by Hasan, the *beylerbeyi* of Safad, reporting that, because of the shortage [of food] and famine which have struck different parts of the *sancak* of Safad, he has allocated some money, in the amount of [BLANK] piasters, to purchase and bring provisions [to Safad]. He bought wheat and barley and had [them] loaded on a ship. After the purchase and the loading, [the ship] proceeded to the port of Sidon to deliver [the cargo] to the aforementioned [*beylerbeyi*]. But the wind was not favourable and drove the ship to the port of Tripoli. Upon [its] arrival in Tripoli, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Husayn Sayfa, arrested two *sipahi*s named Hacı Ahmad and Ismail, who were on the boat since they had been appointed [its] captains by the aforementioned [*beylerbeyi* of Safad]. He also arrested and killed one janissary, named Ahmad, and three servants, and seized the provisions on the ship. Also, [the *beylerbeyi* of Safad] has informed me of repeated aggression and transgressions of this sort and requests an imperial order to have the matter investigated according to the *Şar‘* and to have justice done. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you examine and investigate this matter justly and in the presence of [both] parties, if it has only been adjudicated once before, in accordance with the *Şar‘*. If the matter is as reported, you must follow the correct *Şar‘* in this respect. After restoring fully whatever right becomes established for the [accuser] from the guilty party and if those who committed this misdeed need to be reported to Istanbul, make copies of the relevant documents that prove the case against them by *Şar‘* and report the matter to me. But you have to follow the correct path and not to act contrary to the noble *Şar‘*.

***MD* 81, No. 41**
19 Dhu al-Qa‘da 1025/28 November 1616
Order to the previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Yusuf ibn Sayfa:

Previously, *Bölükbaşı* Shalhub[20] [ibn Harfush] used to be in control of the *mukataat* of Biqa‘ al-‘Aziz. According to a legal deed, he came to control agricultural produce (*tereke*) [valued at an] estimated 15,000 piasters that belongs to Emir Yunus,[21] the current *sancakbeyi* of Homs. My noble orders have been repeatedly sent for the restoration [of this produce] but, until now, he has not returned it and it remains due from him. Consequently, much harm has been done to the aforementioned emir. If the aforementioned *bölükbaşı* has not yet made restitution to the aforementioned emir for his claim, my noble order is given to obtain [it] legally from the farm products of the aforementioned [*bölükbaşı*] in Homs. Should I again command that he restores the rights of the aforementioned emir, he must not refuse [to comply] in this matter.

Upon the arrival [of this order], you have to act according to my noble order issued in this respect. Summon the aforementioned *Bölükbaşı* Shalhub[22] and, if he does not give back the specific produce owed to the aforementioned emir, you must restore it from the yield of his farms in Homs, on the basis of my noble order. You must also leave no opportunity for the aforementioned [*bölükbaşı*] to refuse to restore [Emir Yunus's] rights, in accordance with the *Şar‘* and the legal deed in [the emir's] possession.

## Other Judicial Cases

***MD* 102, No. 739**
Early Rajab 1103/March 1692
Order to the *vali* and *kadı* of Tripoli:

Katip ‘Umar has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) to my exalted threshold. [He states that] he has tended to his own affairs and has not injured any person contrary to the *Şar‘*, [but that] some wicked people have imprisoned him in the citadel of Tripoli and have wronged him greatly, contrary to the law. His case (*dava*) has been brought to the attention of the imperial council (*divan-ı hümayun*). He has requested an imperial order (*hüküm-i hümayun*) to have justice done and to [ensure his] release from prison.

20. In the original, Shalhum.
21. This is Yunus al-Harfush of Baalbek and the Biqa'.
22. In the original, Shalhum.

[To] you, the aforementioned vizier and *kadı (mevlana)*: yes, he is to be released, as explained.

Written to this effect.

***MD* 114, No. 775**

Late Muharram 1115/June 1703

Order to the janissary officer, Hüseyn Çavuş, in charge of the citadel of Tripoli:

The person known as Shatti ibn Karima [and also as] Çavuş Ahmad, a *çavuş* of the janissaries of my exalted threshold who lives in Tripoli, has not tended solely to his own affairs and fails to treat the people of the *vilayet* in a proper manner. He also obstructs the implementation of my exalted firman and disobeys the noble *Şar'*. He has been warned several times. He must be disciplined by being imprisoned in the citadel of Tripoli. My firman to this effect is sent with [BLANK] the appointed agent *(mübaşir)*, [who] is [one] of the *çavuş*es of the janissaries of my exalted threshold. The aforementioned is to be imprisoned in the said citadel with the knowledge of [my] agent and must not be released unless a firman is issued [to this effect].

***MD* 115, No. 1651**

Mid-Jumada I, 1119/August 1707

Order to the *dizdar* (warden) of the citadel of Tripoli:

The person called Salih has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) to my threshold of felicity. [He explains] that he was earlier taken, along with the representative of Jerusalem (*Kuds-i Şerif nakibi*), and imprisoned in the citadel of Tripoli. [Now] he requests release. [In response to] his request (*istida*), he is to be discharged as a favour, as explained on the back of the petition.

[This order has been] written for this purpose.

## Relations Between the Sayfas and the Ottomans

***MD* 53, No. 622**

992/1584–85

Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

A letter was sent [stating that] Emir Sayf and Emir Hasan, the sons of Sayfa of the Druze community (*taife*), are rebels. They have [committed] acts of

aggression and transgression (*taaddi ve tecavüz*) against the territory and the people, and I am informed that their rebelliousness has surpassed [all] limits. You are [hereby] ordered to render justice with regard to them and to arrest them. Now, you must arrest the aforementioned after making good preparations, if possible. Seize them and send them to the grand vizier who will attend to their punishment. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order, that] you abide accordingly and send [the rebels], under arrest and chained, to the aforementioned. Do not give them a chance [to escape]. Pay [due] attention [to this matter] and have them arrested in any way possible.

***MD* 53, No. 801**
15 Rabi‘ I, 993/17 March 1585
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

The sons of Sayfa, who had earlier fled Tripoli, have arrived in the Biqa‘ and Baalbek. They have, in fact, now taken refuge with Mansur ibn Furaykh, who was dismissed from the *sancak* of Safad, and ‘Ali ibn Khuraysh, who was dismissed from the *sancak* of Palmyra. Investigate [the matter] and report back [to me]. Arrest the said villains by any possible means. You are ordered to deliver them to my eminent vizier, Üveys Hüseyn. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you arrest the said [persons]. The aforementioned Hüseyn and his loyal men will send them to my threshold of felicity. Arresting the said [persons] is your duty. Perform it after making good preparations and show diligence in arresting them.

***MD* 53, No. 824**
20 Rabi‘ I, 993/22 March 1585
Order to Mansur ibn Furaykh, dismissed from the *sancak* of Safad:

The sons of Sayfa, who had earlier fled Tripoli, have arrived in the Biqa‘ and Baalbek. In fact, [they] have joined up with you. Let it be known to you that you are ordered to arrest and deliver them to Hüseyn, the *kapıcıbaşı* of Osman Pasha, may his glory endure. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you also abide [by it]. Arrest the aforementioned [persons] by any possible or imaginable means. Arrest every one of them and deliver them to the aforementioned Hüseyn. Therefore, you must arrest and deliver them without negligence. [You] too, must not become a rebel (*bagi*). You must find a solution to [the matter] as you see fit and act accordingly. Cap-

ture the aforementioned [persons] and deliver them to the aforementioned *kapıcıbaşı*. Be careful and beware of negligence.

A copy [of this order] has also been written to ‘Ali ibn Khuraysh, dismissed from the *sancak* of Palmyra.

One of the sons of Sayfa, Husayn, has actually appeared with you and with ibn Furaykh.

Now, you are a loyal servant and, because of your submission to my threshold of felicity, you must, when such villains take refuge with you, capture them, be obedient and send them to my threshold of felicity. If you neglect [to do] this, you will also become one of the rebels. You must manage the aforesaid situation well: arrest [Husayn ibn Sayfa] and deliver him to the *kapıcıbaşı* of the aforementioned [Osman Pasha].

***MD* 56, No. 74**
993/1585
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

You have sent a letter [stating that] Emir Yusuf ibn Sayfa controls a *timar* of 17,400 *akçe*s in the village of [NAME ILLEGIBLE] in the *nahiye* of Safita, in the *sancak* of Tripoli.

Once he rebelled, [Yusuf ibn Sayfa] continually plundered the money and provisions of the people. There is a noble order concerning him [which commands that] he be killed. According to that order, he was fought and, with God’s grace (*bi-inayet Allah*), defeated and [forced to] flee. After his flight, the [aforesaid] *timar* was given to Mahmud to control. [However, ibn Sayfa] has subsequently obtained, in a certain way, the right to control [that] *timar* from my vizier, Ibrahim Pasha. Because his wickedness and mischief (*fesad ve şenaat*) have now increased – [and also] since he has not joined the Tabriz campaign – he deserves to be killed. His *timar* is assigned to Mahmud. Because of this, I have commanded, on the basis of what you have reported that, since [Yusuf ibn Sayfa] did not perform in [my] imperial service and rebelled, the aforesaid *timar* must be given to Mahmud and that [the latter] must control it in accordance with the certificate (*berat*) [which he has]. The aforementioned Yusuf is not to interfere. He must also deliver what is due from him.

***MD* 75, No. 210**
(Early Dhu al-Hijja 1011–early Shawwal 1013/May 1603–February 1605)

Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Yusuf Pasha ibn Sayfa:

You are a loyal and courageous man in every way. You exert yourself in maintaining and guarding all the territories. Moreover, you exert yourself with respect to [the revenue of] the treasury. This has earned you my imperial favour. I am sending you a sword and a splendid robe of honour (*hilat-i fahire*). I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you receive them with every sign of respect and esteem (*ikram ve tazim*): don the robe of honour and gird the sword for the destruction of the enemy. Afterwards, exert yourself without limit in maintaining and guarding your province, and preserving and increasing the revenue (*mal*).

***MD* 75, No. 378**
(Early Dhu al-Hijja 1011–early Shawwal 1013/May 1603–February 1605)
Order to Yusuf Pasha, *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

I have been informed that you are actually employing undeserving people in different capacities that cause harm to the treasury: in collecting the money of the *nahiye*s, in collecting the revenue of the *vakif*s' *zevaid* and tax farms (*mukataat*) in the territory of Tripoli, and in the treasury. Abolish all superfluous salaries and sinecures now. My exalted firman (*ferman-i alişan*) is issued. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by it. Do not give any undeserving person a salary or sinecure. Take control of all revenue and coffers and send them to my Asitane of felicity. Restore all salaries and sinecures to the treasury (*hazine*), record all of the revenue in a sealed register and report back immediately. Beware of negligence [in this matter] and do not protect undeserving person.

Copy to Vizier Nasuh Pasha, in Aleppo.

Copy to Damascus.

***MD* 75, No. 379**
(Early Dhu al-Hijja 1011–early Shawwal 1013/May 1603–February 1605)
Order to Yusuf Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

The aforementioned *beylerbeylik* has been assigned to you from my Istanbul (Asitane) of felicity on the condition – and your undertaking – that you prepare [the amount of] 50,000 *filori* and send it to my threshold of felicity in thirty to forty days. My noble firman is issued so that you send [the amount] as soon as possible. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] with

Hacı Mustafa, that you do not make excuses to delay [payment]. On the basis of the condition and your aforementioned undertaking, you must prepare, in thirty to forty days, [the amount of] 50,000 *filori*s and send it with my envoy, without delay or decrease (*noksan*). And beware of extending the days [beyond the specified deadline].

***MD* 75, No. 380**
(Early Dhu al-Hijja 1011–early Shawwal 1013/May 1603–February 1605)
Order to the aforementioned [Yusuf Pasha, *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli]:

It has reached my imperial ears that you exert yourself in protecting and guarding the aforesaid province, [promoting] the prosperity and comfort of the people (*reaya ve beraya*), and [maintaining] order in the territory and the tranquillity of the poor, [by] my justice. May God protect you, [as] you have done what was expected of you. Now, I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act in accordance with the zeal and commitment (*hamiyet*) natural to you. Protect and guard the province and the territory [in a manner] compatible with religion and [the dignity of] my state, using your talents and exerting yourself without limit in [promoting] the prosperity and comfort of the people, and stopping villains from doing harm.[23]

***MD* 75, No. 538**
(Early Dhu al-Hijja 1011–early Shawwal 1013/May 1603–February 1605)
Order to Yusuf ibn Sayfa, *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

According to a condition [set] earlier and your undertaking, you collect 100,000 *filori* from the *emin*s of Tripoli every year. So far, you have sent 50,000 *filori* to my threshold of felicity, [which went] into the imperial treasury. As for the remaining 50,000 gold pieces [due] in accordance with your undertaking, a noble order has been issued by the finance department (*maliye*) [commanding] that they be sent to the imperial treasury, to be assigned as salaries to deserving soldiers (*kullar*) [participating] in the eastern campaign under the command of my vizier, *Serdar* Sinan Pasha. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] and in accordance with the noble order issued by the finance department and your undertaking, that you

23. This and the preceding three orders are contradictory. Two commend Yusuf Sayfa while the other two reprimand him. This is not unusual in *Mühimme* documents.

soon send the remaining 50,000 gold pieces to the imperial treasury [which is] with the aforementioned Sinan.

***MD* 75, No. 547**

(Early Dhu al-Hijja 1011–early Shawwal 1013/May 1603–February 1605)
Order to the *vali* of Tripoli, Emir Yusuf Pasha:

You, as a person, are a loyal and celebrated man, like others of your ancestors who built with us the eternal foundations of Istanbul (*Asitane*) and of our dynasty, and came to serve [us] with devotion. With the zeal and commitment (*hamiyet*) natural to you, you have also expended your energy in eradicating villains and in maintaining and protecting the *vilayet* and the prosperity and comfort of the people. This has reached my exalted ears. Your good deeds have my imperial acceptance and I pray for your welfare (*dua-yı hayr*). I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] and in accordance with your habitual and natural courage, zeal and commitment (*hamiyet*), that you employ your strength and energy in maintaining and guarding the *vilayet* [and in ensuring] the prosperity and comfort of the people, the agriculture and prosperity of the villages and *nahiye*s and, generally, in doing what is compatible with religion and [the interest of] the state, exerting yourself in this way. God willing, your service will not go unrewarded and you will receive more of my exalted attention and prayers for your wellbeing. You are to abide accordingly.

***MD* 78, No. 204**

(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *kadı* of Tripoli:

*Çavuş* Safar, [one] of the *çavuş*es of my exalted threshold and the superintendent of the *vakif* of the late grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, has sent a letter to my threshold of felicity [stating that] he has arrived to take control of the commercial building (*han)* of the aforementioned deceased's *vakif*. Earlier, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, ibn Sayfa, illegally controlled the *vakif* for several years and did not pay any rent. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act accordingly. If the aforementioned [*beylerbeyi*] illegally controlled the aforesaid commercial building (*han)* of the aforementioned person's *vakif*, then act according to the *Şar‘*. After [the matter] is proven, return [the *han*] to the *vakif*. Collect all the rent due to the

*vakif* until now, according to the *Şar‘*. Do not do anything contrary to the noble *Şar‘*.

***MD* 78, No. 1532**

(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Husayn Pasha:[24]

You are courageous and you have served loyally in the army (*ocak*). You have performed significant deeds, expended energy and shown ability in maintaining the territory of the province and controlling and protecting the people (*reaya*). You have also been active and assiduous in collecting state money. [Reports of] your efforts have reached my exalted ears. You are commended for these services and you are deserving of my exalted attention (*inayet-i aliye*). You are to remain *beylerbeyi* and to exert effort in collecting state money and sending it to Istanbul, in accordance with the noble order issued by the finance department (*maliye*).

Upon the arrival of [this order] and in accordance with my noble firman, you are to exert yourself in maintaining and guarding the territory of the province, controlling and protecting the people, collecting state money and sending it on time to Istanbul, in accordance with the noble order issued by the finance department. Be diligent in supporting the treasury (*hazine*).

***MD* 78, No. 3011**

(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Husayn Pasha:

You demonstrate courage and sincerity in every way while defending the state and controlling and protecting the people. It has reached my imperial ears that you expend energy and labour without limit. Thus, you are deserving of attention and affection. Yes, my exalted favour has been expressed by the present of a robe (*sevb-i hilat*) sent to you, a splendid robe of honour to cause delight (*hilat-i fahire muris ül-behcet*).

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this robe], that you receive it with all due appreciation, esteem, reverence and respect – and wear it. Subsequently, you must further exert yourself in defending the state and

24. The Husayn addressed in this and the susequent order is Husayn Sayfa, the son of Yusuf Sayfa.

controlling and protecting the people. You must also expend energy in strengthening the true religion and my imperial majesty (*din-i mübin ve uğur-u hümayun-u izzet*) and in always performing good deeds. You must also continuously keep me informed of developments.

Copy to Yusuf,[25] the previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli.

Copy to the *beylerbeyi* of Cyprus.

***MD* 79, No. 490**

Late Dhu al-Qaʻda 1018/February 1610

Order to my vizier in the *eyalet* of Damascus, Ahmed Pasha:

The *beylerbeylik* of Tripoli is now granted from the threshold of my felicity to *emir-ül ümera* Hüseyn, who has [just] arrived there. My exalted firman has been issued regarding your assistance to the aforementioned [Hüseyn] when he starts assuming control over the *mukataat* and the collection of taxes; [this is] in case the former *emir-ül ümera,* Yusuf ibn Sayfa, interferes in any way and opposes him in assuming control over the *mukataat* and the collection of taxes.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that should the aforementioned [Yusuf ibn Sayfa] interfere in the process of assuming control over the *mukataat* belonging to the aforesaid *eyalet*, or should he interfere with, or oppose, the collection of taxes in any way, that you aid and assist the aforementioned [Hüseyn] in assuming control of the *mukataat,* as required and in accordance with my exalted order. Exert yourself in rebuffing and stopping the aforementioned [Yusuf ibn Sayfa] as best you can.

Copy to the *beylerbeyi* of Aleppo.

Copy to the *sancakbeyi* of Safad.

25. The father of Husayn Sayfa.

# 3

# The Country of Baalbek, the Biqa‘ and Wadi Al-Taym

In Ottoman times, as in the preceding Mamluk period, the territory lying between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges was part of the province of Damascus. This territory is composed of three parts: the Baalbek country (*al-Biqa‘ al-Ba‘albaki*), comprising the upper reaches of the valley of the northward-draining Orontes River; the Biqa‘ proper (*al-Biqa‘ al-‘Azizi*), comprising the upper reaches of the valley of the southward-draining Litani River, before it veers westward to reach the sea between Sidon and Tyre; and Wadi al-Taym, comprising the valley of the upper reaches of the Jordan River, before it reaches the rift valley of the Ghor at Lake Hulah. The boundary between the Baalbek country and the Biqa‘ proper is the barely distinguishable water divide near the town of Rayyak. The Biqa‘ and Wadi al-Taym, on the other hand, are separated from one another by the range of hills connecting the northern parts of the Anti-Lebanon to Upper Galilee, in the territory of Safad.

In the Ottoman *eyalet* of Damascus, these three territories were administered as *nahiye*s of the central *sancak* of Damascus. The Biqa‘ was overwhelmingly Sunnite Muslim in population; its principal towns, north to south, were Karak Nuh, Qabr Ilyas and Mashghara, the first being the seat of the *nahiye* administration. In the Baalbek country, where the population was predominantly Shiite Muslim, the principal town was Baalbek,

connected to the inland Sunnite Muslim Syrian towns of Homs and Hama by the Orontes River. In Wadi al-Taym, where the population was partly Druze and partly Sunnite Muslim, the principal towns, north to south, were Rashayya, Hasbayya and Marj ‘Uyun.

These three *nahiye*s were among the most fertile and productive parts of Ottoman Syria, agriculturally and as pastoral lands. They also formed that part of the territory of Damascus where the roads from the interior to the coast, and from northern Syria to Galilee and Palestine, met and crossed. Hence, they were important economically, as well as strategically.

The local leaderships that dominated in these *nahiye*s in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the Harfush family, in Baalbek and the Biqa‘, and the Shihab family, in Wadi al-Taym. The Harfushes were Shiites, but the Ottomans overlooked this well-known fact in order to accommodate local realities. They appear, however, to have remained suspicious of them as potential sympathizers with the Safavids in Persia since they tried to replace them with presumably more loyal Sunnite elements in the same locality, such as the Furaykh family. When this measure failed, the Harfushes were again reinstated, but their suspect loyalty rendered their relations with the Ottomans turbulent and led to their downfall in the year 1625. In their heyday, the authority of the Harfushes, as the *Mühimme* documents make clear, reached beyond the Baalbek and Biqa‘ regions into the interior of what is presently Syria, where they were frequently appointed as *sancakbeyi*s of Homs and, occasionally, of Palmyra.

The Sunnite Muslim Shihabs, although known to have controlled Wadi al-Taym since early Ottoman times, according to local sources, only begin to figure in the *Mühimme* documents after they succeeded the Ma‘ns in the *iltizam* of the Druze mountain and Kisrawan. It may be that, as the *nahiye* administrators of Wadi al-Taym, they gave the Ottomans little or no trouble and hence went unmentioned in the *Mühimme* documents except occasionally in connection with Druze rebellion; as well, the relative proximity of Wadi al-Taym to Damascus may have precluded a large-scale and continuous rebellion, as was the case in the Druze mountain. However, some members of this dynasty are actually identified in the documents as being Druzes, reflecting Ottoman displeasure with these individuals.

As for the Furaykhs, they were perhaps the most short-lived dynasty in Ottoman Lebanon. For a brief period in the late sixteenth century, Mansur Furaykh was appointed commander of the Damascene pilgrimage caravan,

as well as *sancakbeyi* of Safad and administrator of the Biqa‘. His conduct in office, however, was not satisfactory, especially his management of finances and of the pilgrimage caravan placed under his command. As a result, he was subsequently imprisoned and executed, as the *Mühimme* documents make clear. His sons were never able to make a political return, although they did appeal to Istanbul for the restoration of their father's real estate, which was seized at different times by the Harfushes and the Ma‘ns. Ultimately, the family disappeared from the annals of Lebanese history.

## CONDITIONS IN BAALBEK

***MD* 79, No. 1292**
20 Muharram 1020/4 April 1611
Order to the *kadı* and governor (*zabit*) of Baalbek:

[To] you, the *kadı* of Baalbek: Sha‘ban, the *kadı* of Karak Nuh has sent a letter [reporting that] you have been informed that two *zimmi*s named Shalhum and Khalifa from the village of Ras [Baalbek], which is under your jurisdiction, are wicked brigands who have set fire to the fields and crops at harvest time in a village close to the aforesaid village. They also receive many travellers in their home, killing them by night and taking their money and possessions. [Furthermore,] they have set fire to mosque niches (*mihrablar*) in many of the villages and continually engage in abominable misdeeds to such an extent that the people of the *vilayet* have come to court and insisted on reporting the incidents and circumstances [to the relevant authorities]. Accordingly, I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by it strictly and arrest the two villains. If they evade [arrest], order that [a] guarantor be brought [so that] he will bring them [to you], according to the *Şar‘*. If it is proven that the two villains have committed such abominable misdeeds, charge them under the law. Investigate carefully, justly and properly issues that have been legally investigated only once, without being resolved, and since which fifteen years have not [yet] elapsed. Once the case is proven by the *Şar‘*, restore the rights which their [proper] holders have demanded [and] then imprison the aforementioned [villains]. If they need to be reported [to Istanbul], report the case. If not, punish them as you see fit according to the *Şar‘*. Do not leave an opportunity for anyone to act contrary to the noble *Şar‘*.

***MD* 79, No. 1227**
(Mid-Muharram 1019–late Dhu al-Hijja 1020/April 1610–February–March 1612)
Order to Vizier Ahmed Pasha, in the governorship of Damascus, to its *molla* and to the *kadı*s in the said *eyalet*:

The officer (*zabit*)[1] of Baalbek, Yusuf, has sent a letter reporting that earlier, during the rebellion of ibn Janbulad and upon his arrival in Baalbek, [the] inhabitants fled because of [ibn Janbulad's] oppression and aggression, each settling in one *nahiye* or village of the aforesaid *eyalet*. [Consequently,] the city of Baalbek and its *nahiye*s became depopulated and desolate and there has been a great loss of revenue. [The said Yusuf] requests that the refugees be removed [from wherever they are settled] and sent back to their former places. My noble order is issued that the refugee subjects (*reaya*) of the last ten years who belong to the government (*hükümet*) of the aforementioned [Yusuf] be returned to their former places from wherever they are [now]. Upon the arrival [of this order], you must act according to my issued command in this respect: remove the *reaya* who arrived within the last ten years and who belong to the government of the aforementioned [Yusuf], but live in the aforesaid *eyalet*, and send them back to their old places. Do not allow a single individual to act contrary to my command. As for the *reaya* who have left and been settled [in the said *eyalet*] for more than ten years, they are not to be removed. You are accordingly bound.

## THE HARFUSHES IN BAALBEK AND THE BIQA'

***MD* 53, No. 198**
19 Jumada II, 992/28 June 1584
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus:

The *sancak* of Palmyra was previously assigned to Emir 'Ali ibn Harfush, now the *emin* of Baalbek, which belongs to Damascus (*şam-ı şerif*). News has arrived that he continually assists troublemakers (*ehl-i fesad*) and that he himself is not innocent of mischief (*fesad*). Yes, it is ordered that, after the proper preparations [have been made], the aforementioned, whether he be in Damascus or in [some] other area – generally, wherever he may be [found] –

1. The *zabit* in question here is Yunus al-Harfush rather than Yusuf the order states.

be arrested, imprisoned and his case reported [back to me]. I command, when Recep of the *müteferrika* of my exalted threshold arrives, that you arrest, imprison and report [on the man]. This noble order has been written [to this effect].

***MD* 67, p. 12, No. 18**
15 Dhu al-Hijja 998/15 October 1590.
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

You have sent a letter reporting that you have arrested ibn Harfush and ʻAssaf the Liar (*yalancı ʻAssaf*) and have actually imprisoned them in one of the citadels of Damascus. You have proposed that each of them be granted a *sancak*. I [hereby] command that the heads of both be severed and sent to the threshold of my felicity. Upon the arrival of Ridvan Çavuş, one of the *çavuş*es of my exalted threshold, with my noble order, you must not delay a moment or an hour. Cut off the heads of the aforementioned, on the basis of my noble firman, and send them quickly to the threshold of my felicity with my aforementioned *çavuş*. Understand that this is an important matter and that you must not waste one minute in executing my noble firman.
Given to Ridvan Çavuş.

***MD* 70, No. 315**
17 Jumada II, 1001/6 March 1593
Order to the current bey of the *sancak* of Homs, Musa Bey ibn al-Harfush:

Since the aforesaid *sancak* has been granted to you, along with the *emanet* (tax collection), on condition that you pay the treasury 100,000 pieces of gold and, since my noble order has been issued to keep the aforesaid *sancak* and *emanet* under your control for four years, provided you are perfectly just and correct with the people of the aforesaid *sancak* and you pay the gold pieces you have undertaken to pay by the middle of Rabiʻ I of the current year, 1000, I command that you remit the said amount by the indicated date. Upon the arrival of this [order], you must abide in this respect: be perfectly just and correct with the people, and concern yourself with the remission of the said gold pieces that you undertook [to pay] to the treasury. Thus, your *sancak* and *emanet,* on the basis of your conditions, will not be given to anyone else for four years, but will remain under your control.

***MD* 80, No. 135**
(Early Muharram 1022–mid-Safar 1023/February 1613–March 1614)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

While on his way from Damascus to the Asitane, carrying the mail and other important items, Ali, one of the *kapıcıbaşı*s of *Emir-ül ümera* Mustafa, the current *beylerbeyi* of Diyarbekir, who is [also] one of the *müteferrika* of my exalted threshold, stopped in a town (*kasaba*) called Baalbek and was robbed of his effects and many other things – such as a Qur'an worth 20,000 *akçe*s, Frankish silver, Egyptian cloth, a head cover, a silver shield, a bow and several other items – by the men of Emir Yunus ibn Harfush. Accordingly, I command [that there be] a legal investigation and that these items be returned. Upon the arrival [of this order], you are to abide by it in this respect: bring those who plundered the items, have a legal hearing in the presence of the aforementioned [Ali] and restore the stolen items after the case is established. After making the restoration in full, according to the *Şar'*, if those wicked people need to be reported [to Istanbul], imprison them securely and report their cases. If this is not necessary, do what is needed according to the *Şar'*. But you must be extremely cautious lest this becomes a precedent for aggression against peaceful people, contrary to the noble *Şar'*.

***MD* 81, p. 19, No. 41**
(Mid-Rabi' II, 1024–late Muharram 1025/May 1615–February 1616)
Order to Yusuf ibn Sayfa, former *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli:

Earlier, when *Bölükbaşı* Shalhub[2] came to control the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Biqa' al-'Aziz, 15,000 piasters remained [owing to] Emir Yunus [Harfush], the incumbent *sancakbeyi* of Homs, in accordance with a legal deed (*hüccet-i seriyye*). In order to [permit him] to retrieve [the amount], a noble order [to that effect] was repeatedly sent, but [the amount] remained owing. This is unfair to the aforementioned emir (*mir*). Now, if the aforementioned *bölükbaşı* does not pay the aforementioned emir his right in full, a noble order is issued to have it collected from the revenue of the farms (*çiftler*) [he

2. In the original, Shalhum. The document indicates that this Shalhub was a member of the Damascene janissaries. The order is addressed to Yusuf Sayfa, not only in his capacity as *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, but also because Shalhub al-Harfush was allied to him.

holds] in Homs. It is ordered that [the aforementioned *bölükbaşı*] must make no excuses and must pay the aforementioned emir his due. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act according to my issued order. Summon the aforementioned *Bölükbaşı* Shalhub to [your presence] and, if he does not pay the quantity of piasters owed to the aforementioned emir, collect [the amount] from the revenue of the farms [he holds] in Homs. A noble order is issued to this effect. You, too, must not make excuses for the aforementioned *bölükbaşı*. He must pay the right[ful amount] due to the aforementioned emir in full accordance with the legal deed.

***MD* 81, p. 20, No. 45**
(Mid-Rabi‘ II, 1024–late Muharram 1025/May 1615–February 1616)
Order to the *kadı* of Homs:

Emir Yunus, the current *sancakbeyi* of Homs, has sent me a memorandum [stating that] *Bölükbaşı* Shalhub[3] [ibn al-Harfush] was previously in control of the *mukataat* of Biqa‘ al-‘Aziz. My noble order has been sent several times [to command] the restoration of [agricultural] produce, estimated at 15,000 piasters, which belongs to the aforementioned emir according to a legal deed. [But] *Bölükbaşı* Shalhub has not restored it and it remains due from him. [Emir Yunus] has requested that my noble order be issued [to the said *bölükbaşı*] so that he will not in any way refuse to return [what is due] from the produce of his fields, which are under your jurisdiction. If he has not returned the rights in his possession to the aforementioned emir according to the local deed, I command that these rights be restored, according to the *Şar‘*, from the produce of his farms, [which are] under your jurisdiction. Upon the arrival [of this order], you must act according to my noble command issued in this connection. Summon the aforementioned Shalhub to court (*meclis-i şeri-i şerif*), and have him meet the aforementioned emir, or his deputy (*vekil*). Carefully investigate the issue if it has not been ruled on according to the *Şar‘* and if 15 years have not yet elapsed. Examine the *fetva* (legal opinion) in his possession and, if it is proven that the aforementioned *bölükbaşı* owes this amount and has not yet given it back and refuses to give it, you must rule [on the case] after [the matter is] established by the *Şar‘*. Have the amount restored from the produce of his farms, [which are] under your jurisdiction. Restore [Emir Yunus's] rights fully. Do not allow him

3. In the original, Shalhum.

[Shalhub] to be obstinate, or to refuse [payment] in violation of the noble *Şar'*. If he is obstinate and refuses [to comply], report the matter to me.

***MD* 81, No. 78**
7 Rabi' I, 1025/25 March 1616
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus and the *kadı*s of Damascus and Homs:

The *sancakbeyi* of [BLANK] and current officer (*zabit*) of Baalbek, Yunus al-Harfush, has sent a letter in which he informs me that the office of guard (*yasakçi*) in the *sancak* of Homs is [normally] assigned to a janissary from Damascus – though ibn Sayfa assigned it to one of his [own] men – and that it is now vacant. Furthermore, since Darwish 'Abdallah, an inhabitant of Homs, is a member of the janissary corps of Damascus and a capable man in this respect, [Yunus al-Harfush] requests I appoint the aforementioned as *yasakçı* in the said *sancak* on the grounds that he is fit for this job. I have commanded, on the arrival [of this order] that, since the office of *yasakçı* has been assigned of old [to a janissary from Damascus] and since the aforementioned [Darwish Abdallah] is honest and correct, you appoint him to the office of *yasakçı* in Homs. But, beware: avoid oppression and aggression against the people and the poor, contrary to the *Şar'*, under this pretext.

***MD* 81, No. 83**
Rabi' I, 1025/March–April 1616
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Tripoli:

The current officer (*zabit*) of Baalbek and previous *sancakbeyi* of [BLANK], Yunus ibn al-Harfush, has sent me a petition (*arzuhal)* in which he informs me that, while the people of the village called 'Aqura, belonging to the *nahiye* of Baalbek, used to pay their dues of state money annually, they have stopped paying any money for the last five years, since they came under the protection of Husayn ibn Sayfa. [Yunus ibn al-Harfush] pays their dues [on their behalf] in full, but the revenue for the last five years remains outstanding. [Yunus ibn al-Harfush] requests my noble order to have them pay the money unpaid during the last five years, which is still due. Accordingly, I command that they pay in full what has been withheld of the revenue for five years, which remains due from them. Upon the arrival [of this order], act according to its requirements in this connection. If the people of the said village have not paid what was required of them for five years,

and if the aforementioned emir [Yunus] has been paying [what is due from them] from his own money and the money of the last five years remains due from the aforementioned [villagers], you have to act according to the requirement of the noble *Şar‘* in this respect and impose the full payment of the outstanding amount. Do not permit anyone to act contrary to, or oppose, the noble *Şar‘*, or my imperial order.

## The Shihabs in Wadi al-Taym

**MD 111, No. 1064**
Late Dhu al-Qa‘da 1111/May 1700
Order to the *vali* of Damascus:

The *beylerbeyi* of Safad and Sidon, Hacı Kabalan Mehmed, has sent a petition (*arzuhal*) to my threshold of felicity. The aforementioned [*beylerbeyi*] was commander of the pilgrimage in the year 1110. In that year, he gave the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Safad, [one] of the tax farms of Sidon-Beirut, jointly and as *iltizam* to the sons of Shihab, Emir (*mir*) Bashir [in the original, Ibshir] and Emir Mansur.[4] At the time, [Bashir and Mansur] received a sealed receipt (*temessük*) and a legal deed (*hüccet-i şeriye*) for the amount of the tax farm's revenue that they had delivered. Presently, there remains due from them 53 *kese* of state money which they have still not paid. When the aforementioned Emir Mansur was asked to deliver what he had collected from the mountains [in the province] of Damascus, from the village called Wadi al-Taym,[5] he referred [the matter] to Emir Bashir, who also referred it [back to Emir Mansur]. Each one turns [the matter] over to the other, avoiding payment. As explained above, the aforesaid 53 *kese* of state money is due from the aforementioned Emir Mansur. In accordance with the legal deed and the sealed receipt, and in keeping with the *Şar‘*, collect the money in any way [you can] and arrest the person himself. Act according to what is explained above. This [order] is written to this effect.

**MD 111, p. 302, No. 1065**
Late Dhu al-Qa‘da 1111/mid-May 1700
Copy [of same] to *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli in order to collect aforesaid amount

4. These two Shihabs were actually brothers. See below, *MD* 111, No. 271.
5. Wadi al-Taym is a district adjacent to the Biqa‘ valley and not a village.

of state money in accordance with the legal deed and sealed receipt from Emir Bashir [in the original, Mir Ibshir] in the *eyalet* of Tripoli.[6]

## THE FURAYKHS IN THE BIQA‘

***MD* 71, No. 237**
10 Safar 1002/5 November 1593
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus:

My vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, has sent a man [messenger] to my threshold of felicity. [He has stated that] Emir Mansur ibn Furaykh owes [Ibrahim Pasha] 6400 *filori* for the rent of the bath and mills in a place called Biqa‘ which belongs to Damascus, as the legal title deed (*hüccet-i şeriye*) specifies. As the aforementioned Emir Mansur is in prison, payment is not possible and the money remains due. In order to have the money collected in accordance with the deed (*hüccet*), a noble order has been issued by the department of finance. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you inform Emir Mansur and the agent (*vekil*) of the aforementioned [Ibrahim Pasha] that, in accordance with the *Şar‘*, 6400 *filori* are [still] due [from Emir Mansur], which must be paid in full in accordance with the legal title deed and my imperial order, and handed over to the agent of Ibrahim Pasha.

***MD* 81, No. 224**
9 Shawwal 1024/1 November 1615
Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus:

Nasrallah, his brothers, Muhammad and Mansur, and others, [all of whom are] sons of the late previous commander of the pilgrimage [caravan], a resident of Damascus [named] Emir Mansur ibn Furaykh, have submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) to my imperial army [stating that] their aforementioned father, Emir Mansur, had left them, upon his death, a bathhouse, a meadow, a vineyard, a garden, a mill and the rest of his property in a place called Qabr Ilyas in the *nahiye* of the Biqa‘. [After the death of Emir Mansur,] the property was controlled by his brother Murad, [who was] one of the *bölükbaşı*s of Damascus, and he used [it] for many years. [Then] ibn Janbulad

6. This may be because the Shihab *iltizam* included part of the province of Tripoli.

invaded [the *eyalet* of] Damascus and [later] besieged the city of Damascus [itself][7] and ibn Ma'n made himself the master of the aforesaid *nahiye* of the Biqa'. So the brother [of Mansur Furaykh] came and obtained a noble order from the [now] late grand vizier, Murad Pasha, in order to restore the aforesaid property [to the Furaykhs]. When he wanted to take control [of it], ibn Ma'n did not allow him [to do so]. Afterwards, the aforementioned brother [of Mansur Furaykh] died as well and they [the sons of Mansur Furaykh] were unable to take the property into their possession because ibn Ma'n was continuing to control it by force, in the aforesaid manner. [Then,] ibn Ma'n fled to the base infidels[8] [and now] the person in control of the Biqa', Yusuf[9] ibn Harfush, is in control of the [Furaykh] house [and] giving evasive excuses: sometimes he says that he bought the house from the pasha in charge of Damascus [yet, at] other times, he claims that it is the property of ibn Ma'n.

This is a case of total injustice [befalling the Furaykh brothers] that I make known [to you]. The aforementioned [petitioners] have requested my noble order concerning the restoration of the aforesaid property in accordance with the *Şar'*. [Therefore] I command that the case be investigated according to the noble *Şar'*. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you should act accordingly, as you are bound [by it]. Summon the aforementioned Yunus together with the [claimants], before a *Şar'* [court]. Examine, according to the *Şar'*, the issues which were once investigated, but remained unsettled, and since which fifteen years have not yet elapsed, because the aforesaid property passed to them [the Furaykhs], although it has moved from hand to hand and [lately] was forcefully taken and made use of by the aforementioned Yunus. You should act in accordance with the *Şar'*, judge on the claimants' [complaint] and restore, after the facts [of the case] are established, the aforesaid property that passed from their father and his brother to them [the Furaykh brothers]. You should not allow anyone to act contrary to the noble *Şar'*.

7. Reference here is the 'Ali Janbulad rebellion in 1605.
8. Reference here is to the flight of Fakhr al-Din Ma'n to Tuscany in 1613.
9. Should read Yunus.

# 4

# The Sancak of Safad

Formerly the Mamluk province (*mamlaka*) of Safad, this Ottoman *sancak* was originally part of the *eyalet* of Damascus, barring a few months in 1614 when it was assigned to the then short-lived *eyalet* of Sidon. After 1660, however, it permanently became part of the *eyalet* of Sidon.

The territory of this *sancak* was located south of the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut, between the Zahrani River and the promontory of Mount Carmel, at Haifa. Its territory comprised the hill country of Upper and Lower Galilee; since 1920, Upper Galilee has been part of Lebanon and Lower Galilee, where the town of Safad is located, has been part of Palestine/Israel. Along with this hill country, the *sancak* included the coastal towns of Tyre and Acre, which are today cities in Lebanon and Israel respectively.

The population of the *sancak* appears to have been partly agricultural and partly bedouin, with the peasant clans inhabiting the northern parts (that is, Upper Galilee, locally called Jabal ‘Amilah, or Jabal ‘Amil; as well as Bilad Bisharah) being almost solidly Shiite Muslim, while the inhabitants of the southern parts (including the town of Safad) were probably Sunnite Muslim, at least by majority, as were the bedouins of the area. It also appears that a sizeable Druze minority lived in Lower Galilee.

The strategic importance of the *sancak* derived from two factors: first, because its territory controlled the coastal passage from Egypt and Palestine to Sidon, the principal seaport of southern Syria, serving, as it did, Damascus; and second, because the most direct passage from Damascus to the

seaport of Sidon, via Wadi al-Taym and the southern parts of the Biqa‘ valley, ran across the hill country of Upper Galilee to reach the seacoast between Sidon and Tyre.

In the early seventeenth century, the *sancak* of Safad was under the control of the Druze emir, Fakhr al-Din Ma‘n. The Shiite Harfushes of Baalbek and the Biqa‘ tried to establish themselves there, especially during Fakhr al-Din's absence in Europe from 1613 to 1619, but without success. In the early eighteenth century and at different times thereafter, Safad came within the Shihab *iltizam*.

## GRANTS

***MD* 50, No. 308**
(993/1585)
Berat

The bey of Safad, Mansur Bey,[1] who is in charge of the collection of taxes and who has performed well in the present campaign,[2] is awarded a grant of 30,000 *akçe*s as a promotion (*terakki*).

***MD* 50, No. 434**
(993/1585)
Hasan ibn ‘Abdallah:

At the request of the bey of Safad, Mansur Bey, the aforementioned is to be awarded an initial *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s for his courage.

***MD* 50, No. 447**
(993/1585)

The bey of Safad, Mansur Bey, has sent a letter stating that Muhammad ibn Ya‘qub, of the cavalry (*gureba)*, is a useful man and requesting that he be rewarded. He is to be assigned an initial *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s.

1. This is probably Mansur Furaykh who, according to local accounts of the Ottoman expedition of 1585, acted as a guide for Ibrahim Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman troops.
2. The campaign referred to here is the 1585 Ottoman invasion of the Shuf.

## THE FURAYKHS IN SAFAD

***MD* 50, No. 123**
(Late Rabi‘ II, 991–late Ramadan 993/May 1583–September 1585)
The *sancak* of Jerusalem (*liva-i kuds-i şerif*):

The bey of the *sancak* of Safad, Hüseyn, has turned the *sancak* over to Mansur Bey, of the sons of Furaykh, on certain conditions. Currently, there is no courageous person taking charge of Jerusalem, where there are rebellious bedouins, and is therefore in need of a bey. Inform the *kadı* of Jerusalem and the bey of Gaza that Jerusalem has been assigned to Hüseyn Bey.

***MD* 67, No. 500**
Late Jumada II, 1000/April 1592
Order to the *beylerbeyi*, *kadı* and *defterdar* of Damascus:

It has been learnt that Korkmaz ibn Furaykh, previously imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus, has been released. Under the circumstances, it is not my imperial wish that he be released.

I have commanded, upon the arrival of this order, that he not be released. If he has been released in some manner and his guarantor remains in custody, you must recapture him, imprison him and report the matter to me. Each of you is responsible in this connection. Beware lest the aforementioned seize money [illegally], or be the object of your protection, or that you give me [any] report contrary to the real state of affairs. If he is released contrary to my noble order, your excuses will not be heard, and you will be treated as he is [treated]. Written for your information.

Given to Çavuş Ridwan.

***MD* 72, No. 889**
(Early Jumada I, 1002–early Safar 1003/January 1594–October 1594)
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

The *kadı* and *defterdar* of Damascus have sent a letter to my threshold of felicity *(südde-i saadet).*

In accordance with my emphatic firman concerning the elimination of injustice and aggression against the poor, the weak and the people in general, an example must be made to miscreants and brigands of the person called ibn Furaykh. He is to be punished as you see fit. Once you triumph over

him, the poor and the weak will be spared his evil deeds. All the ulema, pious people and notables (*eşraf*) should pray to God to preserve the state and maintain my Sultanate. Let travellers and all [other] people *(reaya ve beraya)* be rid of [their] disquiet. All state money, provisions, money and real estate in the possession of this brigand must soon be collected and sent to my threshold of felicity; and I must be kept informed. I command that all state money, provisions and real estate held by the aforementioned brigand be confiscated in full and sent to my threshold of felicity. You must then exert yourself to protect the *vilayet*, control and protect the people (*reaya*) and suppress brigands. You must continuously report on the conditions in your territory.

***MD* 73, No. 1017**
29 Shawwal 1003/7July 1595
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus:

Muhammad ibn Mansur ibn Furaykh, the son of the previous bey of Safad, has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) to my threshold of felicity. [He says that,] at the time of his father's death, evildoers *(eşkıya)* [including] ibn Ma'n, the sons of Shihab, Shaykh Yusuf, ibn Sharaf al-Din, ibn Harfush, the chieftains (*mukaddemler)* of Hamara and ibn 'Arafa, along with all their followers, attacked his brother, Korkmaz, and his partisans, killing him along with more than 150 of his followers and plundering 1000 gold pieces and some of his other belongings. This is to inform you [of what has happened] and to order you to investigate these matters according to the *Şar'*. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you arrest the aforementioned by any means [necessary] and stand by the aforementioned Muhammad, judging the case according to the *Şar'*. Look into the matter carefully. If there have been, as described, murders or the plunder of money, restore the rights of the aforementioned [Muhammad] fully, according to the *Şar'*. Afterwards, report back [the names of] the villains *(ehl-i fesad)*, imprisoning those whom you find deserving. Inform me, apply the *Şar'*, and restore rights.

## THE MA'NS IN SAFAD

***MD* 75, No. 548**
11 Shawwal [10]13/2 March 1605
Order to ibn Ma'n, *sancakbeyi* of Safad:

My Istanbul (*Asitane*) of felicity considers all of the affairs of the *vilayet* dependent upon the aforesaid *liva*. It has reached my imperial ears that you preserve and guard [the *liva*], preventing harm by bedouins and villains, and maintaining the territory and subjects in a good and orderly [condition]. May God preserve you. Now, I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you further employ the zeal and commitment *(hamiyet)* within you, using your power and energy to keep and guard the *vilayet*, remove the harm [incurred by] bedouins and villains, [attend to] the prosperity and comfort of the people, and promote agriculture and the good of the villages and *nahiye*s. Expend your unlimited efforts in this. It has been decided that you will be the subject of my imperial attention and my prayers for your well being *(dua-yı hayr)*. Accordingly, exercise insight and vigilance.[3]

***MZ* 8, No. 751**
(Safar-Sha'ban 1016/May–December 1607)
Order to the *sancakbeyi* of Safad, Fakhr al-Din:

My grand vizier (*vezir-i azam*), Murad Pasha, commander-in-chief (*serdar*) of my victorious armies, will camp in the countryside of Aleppo (*Haleb sahrasında*) with the intention of advancing soon, on 9 Muharram, [to begin] a victorious expedition.[4] Because of this, my exalted firman has been issued [commanding you] also to prepare a large number of fully equipped troops and send them with your son, 'Ali, the *sancakbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, to join the aforementioned *serdar*, and to obey, as deemed appropriate by the *serdar*.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you exert your efforts in accordance with my order. Prepare a large number of fully equipped troops and send them quickly to [the] son indicated [above], who will hasten with them to join the aforementioned *serdar*. Do your best in my victorious imperial service. The utmost effort (*külli hizmet*) is expected of you in this blessed year. You are not to compare this time or this victorious campaign with other times or campaigns. Upon the arrival of my imperial

3. A summary of this order is published in Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine*, 53; the ibn Ma'n addressed here is Fakhr al-Din.
4. The expedition referred to in this and the earlier order is the one directed against 'Ali Janbulad. Fakhr al-Din, it may be noted here, has at this point actually joined the rebel's forces rather than those of the grand vizier.

order, act with the utmost speed and exert your effort in dispatching [the troops] and delivering them.

***MZ* 8, No. 165**

Dhu al-Hijja 1016/March–April 1608

Order to Fakhr al-Din ibn Maʻn, *sancakbeyi* of Safad:

Now, the *serdar* of the victorious army, the grand vizier, Murad Pasha, is heading east with large armies [and men] beyond count. March to his assistance. God willing, he shall soon arrive at the designated place. Now, you must demonstrate in every way the loyalty and courage, which are your traits, as they were those of your ancestors, and exert yourself in this service. Yes, you are commanded this time to exert all of your energy and prepare your clans (*aşair*) and tribes (*kabail*) fully, to meet the grand vizier with my victorious army in the place called Payas, and to serve him and participate with him in the appropriate manner. My exalted firman is issued [to this effect]. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act accordingly and be ready with the clans and tribes that you have supplied with arms to meet the grand vizier in that region. You [must] join [the grand vizier] in the aforesaid place without delay, serve the Sultan in the appropriate manner, and participate [in the campaign], expending your energy. God willing, in return for your service, you will be the subject of my attention, and your wishes and those of your followers will be realized. In general, I have full confidence in your loyalty and complete obedience and submission. If there are with you *sekban*s, *bölükbaşı*s or any [other] useful men, bring them with you, and exert yourself in this service. God willing, your services will not go unrewarded. Your wishes and the wishes of those with you will receive greater attention. You and those with you will receive no offence from my exalted *serdar* and no harm will befall you; indeed, it is impossible [that this could happen]. As expected [of you], join the campaign immediately with your followers and exert yourself.

***MD* 78, No. 1002**

(Early Rabiʻ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)

Order to Fakhr al-Din ibn Maʻn, administrator *(mutasarrıf)* of the *sancak* of Safad:

You have collected from the *timar* holders in the *sancak* of Lajjun, in accor-

dance with the firman, money in lieu of camels (*bedel-i deve akçesi*) to the amount of 15,000 piasters. Your men have also attacked a ship from Sidon carrying a cargo of barley and wheat (*arpa ve buğday*) bound for Tripoli, seizing its cargo of provisions and state money.

When you received news [of this], you returned part of the wheat. As for the rest, you fabricated excuses regarding its return.

Let it be known to you: in order to have the matter investigated according to the *Şar'*, my noble order has been issued to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Damascus concerning the state money and the money belonging to other persons on the aforesaid ship. [This order commands] that you return what is legally due, according to *Şar'*. My noble order has been issued. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you restore what is due of state money and the money of other persons, in accordance with the noble order and legal title deed (*hüccet-i şeriye*). You must return what is due, according to the noble *Şar'*. Do not resist or violate the noble *Şar'*.

## Local Rebellion

***MD* 31, No. 325**
(Late Rabi' II–early Shawwal 985/July–December 1577)
Order to the *sancakbeyi* of Safad:

You have sent a letter in which you explain that cargo ships coming to the port of Tyre – which belongs to the aforesaid *liva* – to buy provisions (*zahire*) in accordance with the noble order, are secretly bringing muskets (*tüfenk*) and bullets (*kurşun*) to those parts and selling them to rebels (*asiler*) under the pretext of purchasing grain. They have been warned [not to do this] several times but they have not heeded the warnings, saying that the orders of the [*sancak*]*bey* do not apply to us, [we]the janissaries and the *acemi oğlan*s. Because of this, the rebels and the public at large (*reaya*) have come to possess more than four thousand muskets. [Also,] more than 200 musketeers (*tüfenkli*) have assembled in the village of Shafa 'Amr, which belongs to the *kaza* of Acre, engaging in villainy and continuously attacking the roads, killing people and plundering their effects. Moreover, they have gathered around them highway brigands and villains (*eşkıya*), and continue to cause trouble day and night. You have reported that they are not innocent of villainy (*şekavet*). In this connection, you have requested the issuance of my imperial order so that you may collect the [military] equip-

ment, the muskets and similar objects from the hands of the travellers and the subjects [who possess them] and put them in the citadel (*kala*). I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you collect for the state the military equipment and muskets from those travellers and other subjects whom you reported as possessing them. Keep them [the weapons] in the citadel and report back [to me]. Instruct the janissaries and any other person [necessary] not to sell the bedouins or the subjects any military equipment and muskets. Take the equipment from the hands of those who, as reported, keep them to sell to rebellious bedouins and subjects, and from the janissaries and whomsoever remains. Keep them, record the names of those who refuse and report back. Be careful not to allow harm to come to the territory by neglecting to attend to the availability of military equipment and muskets to rebellious bedouins.

***MD* 99, No. 231**

Mid-Rabi‘ I, 1100/January 1689

Order to the administrator *(mutasarrıf)* of Tripoli, the *mutasarrıf* by *arpalık* of the *sancak* of Jerusalem, [BLANK] and the deputy governor *(mütesellim*) of Damascus:

The *mutasarrıf* of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Ismail Pasha, has submitted a petition (*arzuhal)* to my exalted threshold. [He states that] the shaykhs living in the villages and tax farms (*mukataat*) of Safad and [Bilad] Bishara, which are part of the said *eyalet*, placed themselves and their relatives as hostages with the officer (*zabit*) of the tax farms in exchange for money [due from them]. But some of the shaykhs living in the *sancak* of Safad, such as the district administrator (*mütevelli*) of ‘Uyun al-Tujjar [in the original, ‘Ayn Tujjar], Shaykh Mustafa Ahmad, Shaykh Nafi‘ and the brother shaykhs, Shaykh Ahmad ‘Abd al-Khaliq and Shaykh ‘Azzam; the shaykh of village shaykhs, Shaykh ‘Umar; the [other] shaykhs, Shaykh Ahmad and his brother, Shaykh ‘Abdallah; the shaykh of the village of Sakhnin, Shaykh ‘Umar; the shaykh of the tax farm of [Bilad] Bishara and other shaykhs have not given themselves as hostages as of old, but have shown their rebelliousness along with [other] villains [by means of] non-payment of taxes and disobedience. Because of the above, if the aforementioned [shaykhs] are, as described above, a source of obstruction for the collection of revenue, you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, must help the aforementioned vizier in the collection of revenue. This order is given to this effect.

# 5

# Imperial Military Campaigns

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottomans were engaged in intermittent wars on two fronts: on the eastern front, with Persia, and on the western front, in Europe proper, with the Habsburgs. Their military involvements, especially when long-term, tended to reduce further their tenuous control over parts of Mount Lebanon, and to give rise to fresh rebellions by disaffected elements, such as the Druzes and the Shiites.

In 1683, the Ottomans advanced in full force through Hungary to besiege Vienna, as they had done once before, in 1529, but they were forced to retreat. What followed were sixteen years of war in Hungary, a war that drained the military resources of the Ottoman Empire and ended with the loss of most of its Hungarian territory to the Habsburgs under the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699).

In the course of this war, the Ottomans called on provincial governors and local leaderships urgently to dispatch troops and supplies to the front. Although it was not unusual for Istanbul to issue such orders to the Syrian provinces, this occasion was unprecedented since, for the first time, holy war (*gaza* or *jihad*) was emphasized and the claim of the Ottoman sultan to the position of Caliph of Islam was invoked.

Meanwhile, taking advantage of the Ottomans' prolonged military embarrassment on the Hungarian front, Ahmad Ma‘n, the *mültezim* (1667–97) of the mountain *nahiye*s of the *sancak* of Sidon-Beirut in the *eyalet* of Sidon,

made common cause with the Shiite Himadah shaykhs of the northern Lebanon, and rose in rebellion against the Ottomans. According to the contemporary Maronite historian, Istifan al-Duwayhi (d. 1704), these Shiite Himadahs were Persians, originally from Tabriz, in Azerbaijan, who were brought to settle in the northern parts of Mount Lebanon by Süleyman the Magnificent following his conquest of Baghdad in 1534:[1] hence, the reference to them in the Ottoman documents as *Kızılbaş*.

Duwayhi was the Maronite patriarch at the time of the Hungarian war and a personal friend of Ahmad Ma‘n.[2] He was also directly acquainted with the Himadahs, the Maronites' unwelcome neighbours in the northern Lebanon. Patriarch Duwayhi was the only first-hand witness to the events of 1683–99 in the Lebanon whose record survives and he alludes in a number of instances to the Himadah rebellion against the Ottomans, but maintains complete silence about the involvement of his friend, Ahmad Ma‘n, in the rebellion. The local historiography of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, being largely dependent on Duwayhi for information on Ahmad Ma‘n, maintains the same silence. But since the *Mühimme* documents refer to the support that Ahmad Ma‘n extended to *Kızılbaş* rebels in the region of Tripoli, one can easily deduce from the names of personalities and the circumstances involved that the documents refer to the Himadahs.

The career of this Ahmad – the last Ma‘nid *mültezim* of the mountain *nahiye*s of Sidon-Beirut – has hitherto been depicted as an uneventful one.[3] A totally different picture, however, emerges from the Ottoman documents relating to him and to his times. Summoned by the Ottoman state to assist in the military effort on the Hungarian front, the Ma‘nid *mültezim* is not responsive. Instead, he incites the *Kızılbaş* – identifiable from the chronicle of Duwayhi as none other than the Shiite Himadahs of the northern Lebanon – to rebel against the Ottomans and assists them in their rebellion. Repeated orders are sent from Istanbul to the governors of the Syrian provinces to have the man captured and punished, even killed, but apparently to no effect.

1. Duwayhi, Tarikh al-azminah, 258.
2. Ibid., 375.
3. See A. Rafeq , *Bilad al-Sham wa-Misr min al-fath al-‘uthmani ila hamlat Napoleon Bonapert, 1516–1798* (Damascus, 1967), 232; and Kamal Salibi, 'The Lebanese Emirate', *Al-Abhath* 20 (1967): 1–16.

One learns from Duwayhi that the redoubtable Druze rebel ultimately died in bed.[4]

Henry Maundrell, who passed through Lebanon on his way to Jerusalem the year Ahmad Ma‘n died, depicted him as a man forever worried about his life.

> Their [the Druzes] present prince is Achmet, grandson to Faccardine; an old man, and one who keeps up the custom of his ancestors, of turning day into night: an hereditary practice in his family, proceeding from a traditional persuasion amongst them, that princes can never sleep securely but by day, when men's actions and designs are best observed by their guards, and if need be, most easily prevented; but that in the night it concerns them to be always vigilant, lest the darkness, aided by their sleeping, should give traitors both opportunity and encouragement to assault their person, and by a dagger or a pistol, to make them continue their sleep longer than they intended when they lay down.[5]

The material about him available from the Ottoman documents indicates that he had good reason for his concern.

Where the participation of chiefs from the Lebanon in imperial campaigns on the eastern or the western fronts is concerned, it is obvious from the *Mühimme* documents that none of them, with the single exception of the Sayfas of northern Lebanon, ever answered the summons. On the contrary, as the *Mühimme* documents make clear, they not only ignored such orders with impunity, but even occasionally seized the opportunity to rise in rebellion or join ongoing ones. Such rebellions, in turn, made it difficult for the provincial janissaries to participate in imperial campaigns.

Imperial campaigns, however, had other consequences for the Lebanon and its vicinity. Due to the heavy costs associated with such campaigns, the state vigorously tried to collect as much in the way of taxes as possible. Another, and more ruinous, imposition associated with the campaigns was the quartering of troops, or *kışlak.* Even when government orders were observed, *kışlak,* as the documents make clear, represented serious economic loss to the territories involved.

4. Duwayhi, Tarikh al-azminah, 382.
5. Henry Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (Beirut, 1963), 57–8. Muhibbi also observes in his biographical entry on Mulhim Ma‘n that the Ma‘ns maintained a tradition of sleeping by day and remaining awake by night; see M. al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat al-athar fi a‘yan al-qarn al-hadi ‘ashar* (Beirut, n.d.), vol. 4, 409.

## TROOP QUARTERING

***MD* 79, No. 942**

(Mid-Muharram 1019–late Dhu al-Hijja 1020/April 1610–April–March 1612)

Order to the *beylerbeyi* and *kadı* of Tripoli:

As my firman has been issued in this blessed year to have the army spend the summer[6] in the aforesaid *eyalet* and as *Silahdarbaşı* Bekir, the current chief of my *silahdar*s, has been appointed to head the group (*taife*) of *silahdar*s and has been sent there with the aforementioned group, my noble order is issued that he should gain the goodwill of the subjects in the aforesaid *eyalet*; that [the subjects] be deterred from fleeing [the area] due to the presence of the army there this summer; that each [subject be made to] remain in his place; and that [the *silahdarbaşı*] strive always to protect the people.

Upon the arrival [of this order], you must act upon the command I have issued in this respect. If the aforementioned [*silahdarbaşı*] arrives with the aforementioned group [of *silahdar*s] and enters the aforesaid *eyalet*, he must gain the goodwill of the subjects and not allow anyone to leave as a result of the summer quartering. Every subject must continue to live in his place. Exert yourself without limit to protect the subjects at all times.

Copy to Vizier Ahmed Pasha in Damascus, to the *kadı* of Damascus and to the *kadı*s in the aforesaid *eyalet* [of Tripoli].

***MD* 79, No. 1293**

(Mid-Muharram 1019–late Dhu al-Hijja 1020/April 1610–April–March 1612)

Order to the *kadı* and officer (*zabit*) of Baalbek:

You, the *kadı*, have sent a letter reporting that the people of the *vilayet* have repeatedly come to inform you of their situation. They complain that troops from among the *sipahi*s of my exalted threshold, [who are] arriving in the territory under your jurisdiction to be quartered for the winter (*kışlakçılar*), take food, provisions and barley from the *reaya* without payment. The people of the *vilayet* have come to the noble court and reported the excesses and

6. Usually the quartering of troops took place in the winter, rather than the summer.

belligerence of these [troops]. The case being such, I command that, if barley and all [other] provisions have in any way been bought and sold in the said *eyalet* during the ten days preceding the arrival of the military contingent in the *eyalet*, half of their price is to be paid to the sellers by the troops.

I have commanded upon the arrival [of this order], that if the *sipahi*s from the military who arrived in the area under your jurisdiction for winter quartering have procured food, provisions and barley from the *reaya* in some way, you must collect half the price from the quartered troops *(kışlakçılar)* and pay it to its owners, according to the price prevalent ten days prior to the arrival of the military in the *vilayet*. Do not allow anyone to make excuses or act contrary to my noble order.

## Military Campaigns

**_MD_ 53, No. 865**
2 Jumada I, 993/2 May 1585
Order to the *ağa* of the janissaries of Damascus:

When you were earlier ordered to join my imperial campaign, you had to go out against the Druzes. There were some reasons [for this]. All [the things] you have reported have become known to me. Now, you should march out as soon as possible with half of the good janissary musketeers, fully armed, and join my victorious armies (*asakir*), [which are] with the grand vizier, before they enter Rumelia. You are ordered to meet [the army]. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you abide by my imperial firman, select half of the janissary musketeers, have them fully armed, and march out soon to join the aforementioned [grand vizier] before he enters Rumelia. Exert yourself in this service in the correct manner. This time do not, for any reason, show any negligence, and join the aforementioned [grand vizier] at the proper time. Because command (*ağalık*) is given to someone else [in your absence], have a *çavuş* go back and forth to see to [affairs]. Manage the matter accordingly.

**_MD_ 79, No. 1131**
Dhu al-Qaʻda 1019/January–February 1611
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli and the *kadı*s in this *beylerbeylik*:

The *zeamet*s and *timar*s in the aforesaid *eyalet* have been put in the charge of members of the *müteferrika*, *çavuş*es and *katip*s from my exalted threshold. All the *zaim*s and timariots in the said *eyalet* were supposed to join the Tabriz campaign in this year, 1019, but they did not do so. My firman has been issued to grant their *zeamet*s and *timar*s to other deserving people who were in the campaign. My command is [now] issued to confirm [the new] holders [in their grants]. Those who did not join the aforesaid war and who continue to control their *timar*s must not be allowed to do so as long as they have not obtained a noble *berat* for what they control; and my order is issued not to keep them in charge of the [aforesaid] *timar*s.

I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order] that the members of the *müteferrika, çavuş*es*, zaim*s and timariots who control [grants] in the said *eyalet* and behave as such, that they, in accordance with my exalted order, not interfere in their [previous] *timar*s as long as they have not renewed their *berat*s. After the noble *berat*s are issued to each of them, they can control the [aforesaid] *timar*s [once again], in accordance with the [new] *berat*s. You are to abide [by my orders] in this respect and be extremely cautious about allowing anyone who has not renewed his *berat* to control his *timar* or *zeamet*.

***MD* 98, No. 236**
Mid-Rabi I, 1100/early January 1689
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Hüseyn:

Different nations have come to control parts of the Muslim territory. God willing, it has been decided that an imperial campaign be organized against Hungary (*Engürüs*). With God's assistance, the preparation of troops from every part [of the empire] is the most important of the duties that serve the [Muslim] faith and the [Muslim] state, and [the one] most essential to the honour of my Sultanate. In the previous imperial campaign, the number of *zaims* and timariots was more than 11,000 cavalry. [But] you are commanded not to compare this occasion with other occasions. In accordance with the noble *fetva* issued, all the faithful, rich and poor, and all who profess the unity of God (*'amat al-muwahhidin*), are ordered to join the imperial campaign on the basis of a general draft (*nefir-i am*). In accordance with the regulation (*kanun*), the *alaybeyi*s of all *zaim*s and *timar* holders, the *defterdar* of the *timar*, its *tezkereci* and the *kethüda* of the *timar defteri*, along with the *cebeci*s, are ordered to join my commander of the Muslim

armies in Morea, Halil Pasha. Now, you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, assemble the *zaim*s and timariots in the aforesaid *eyalet*. The order is issued to expedite their embarkation and to deliver them [to the command of Halil Pasha in Morea].

***MD* 98, No. 237**
Mid-Rabi‘ I, 1100/early January 1689
Order to the *alaybeyi* of Tripoli:

In accordance with the pure *Shari‘a* (*şaria-i mutahharah*), holy war (*gaza*) in this year is an individual obligation (*fard ‘ayn*) upon all the faithful and *muwahhidin* (those who profess the unity of God). Those who do not join are infidels (*kafir*) and will gain nothing. A noble *fetva* has been issued to the effect that those who do not join [*gaza*] as a duty shall be put to death, as they are Muslims commanded by the general draft to join my imperial campaign under the banner of the Caliph. You, too, are ordered to join my grand vizier, the commander of the Muslim armies, Halil Pasha, in Morea, along with the *zaims* and timariots of the aforesaid *liva*. Now, you are a *miralay*. When you receive my noble order, prepare all the necessities for the campaign on time, assemble all the *zaim*s and timariots in the aforesaid *eyalet* of Tripoli, depart in ships, and be alongside the aforementioned vizier before spring. Exert yourself and perform in my exalted service according to his correct judgement. This order has been written to this effect.
Copy written to the *alaybeyi* of Homs.
Copy written to the *alaybeyi* of Jablah.
Copy written to the *alaybeyi* of Salamiyah.
Copy written to the *alaybeyi* of Hama.

***MD* 98, No. 238**
Mid-Rabi‘ I, 1100/January 1689
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Ismail Pasha:

Different nations have come to control Muslim territory. God willing, it has been decided to undertake an imperial campaign under the banner of the Caliphate early in the spring. The supply of additional troops is the most important duty for the [Muslim] religion and the [Muslim] state, and [the one] most essential to the honour (*arz ve namus*) of the Sultanate. It is now time to impose the duty (*fariza*) of holy war (*cihad*) on the abode (*meab*) of

the emirate (*emaret*) of Ahmad ibn Ma'n. Like the other slaves of my gate *(kapım kulları)*, he must send all those available and capable of going to war, fully equipped and provisioned. Of his men, he is asked to send 500 infantry with muskets. Now, when you receive my noble order, you, the aforementioned vizier, must dispatch someone appropriate, [someone] who knows the situation, to contact the aforementioned emir and obtain his agreement that [he] send 500 troops capable of fighting and supplied with muskets, and [that he] do his best in this [endeavour]. Prepare the money to pay the passage (*navlun*), acquire a ship, load it [with men] and join the imperial army in Edirne before spring, with full provisions and equipment for those accompanying you. Then, send someone to hasten them to the citadels of the [Bosphorus] strait (*boğaz*), or to wherever my imperial army is encamped. This order is written to this effect.

## Financial Obligations

**_MD_ 78, No. 1869**

(Early Rabi' I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)

Order to the bey of 'Ajlun, Hamdan ibn Qansuh, may his glory endure:

You are to join the imperial campaign for the year 1018. The first thing you must do is send fifteen horses and six-pack camels against your fief revenue (*has*). You are to arrange for the delivery of the aforesaid [animals] with full equipment. A noble order [to this effect] has been issued by the finance department. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you act in accordance with the noble order issued by the finance department and not do anything contrary to it.

Copy to the bey of Baalbek, 'Isa ibn Harfush,[7] [who] is to send fifteen horses and six pack camels against his fief revenue.

**_MD_ 106, No. 289**

Late Ramadan 1106/May 1695

Order to Arslan, the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli and the supervisor and treasurer of the taxes of the *mukataat* of the aforesaid *eyalet*:

7. This 'Isa al-Harfush is not mentioned in any earlier or later *Mühimme* documents, he is also not referred to by any of the local sources. The Harfush chief at this particular time was Yunus.

It is necessary and important to prepare funds to provide for my imperial campaign (*sefer-i hümayun*) and the salaries of the troops (*kapıkullari*) in this blessed year. You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, have paid for the districts in the aforesaid *eyalet* [the amounts of] 297,972 *esedi* piasters [Dutch piasters] out of the revenue for the year 1105 and 310,499 piasters out of the revenue [for the year] 1106, for which [amounts] you have obtained a receipt *(hüccet)*. You have also made deliveries and incurred expenses to the amounts of 8471 and 309,628 *esedi* piasters. Excluding this, there is still due from you [the amount of] 298,843 *esedi* piasters.

Upon receiving my noble order, immediately prepare the aforesaid sum, put it in a sealed purse (*kese*) and quickly send it with an agent [chosen] from among your [most] faithful and dependable men. Deliver it to my treasury (*hazine-i amire*) as soon as possible, exerting additional effort. This order is written in accordance with the order given by the finance department (*maliye*).

***MD* 106, No. 290**

Late Ramadan 1106/May 1695

Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut:

For the Muslim soldiers, the needs of the campaign, the salaries of my troops (*kapıkullari*) and all of the other expenses of my imperial campaign (*sefer-i hümayun*) taking place in this blessed year, it is necessary and important to take measures to increase the revenue of the treasury (*hazine*).

[To] you, the aforementioned vizier: the revenue of the districts (*mukataat*) entrusted to you in the aforesaid *eyalet* for the year 1100 [amounts to] 249,237.5 *esedi* piasters. The same amount is also outstanding for the year 1106. Excluding 174,565 [piasters] designated for expenses, transfers and deliveries, there [still] remains due from you [the amount of] 323,110 *esedi* piasters.

When you receive my noble order, quickly prepare the aforesaid sum, put it in a sealed purse (*kese*) and send it immediately to my imperial stirrup (*rikab-ı hümayun*) with a trustworthy and dependable agent. Have it delivered to my treasury (*hazine-i amire*) as soon as possible. Do not show any negligence or laxity [in this matter]. This is written in accordance with [the order from] the finance department (*maliye*).

# 6

# Pilgrimage and the Lebanon

The Syrian territory was strategically important to the Ottomans for manifold reasons, not least because Muslim pilgrims from the Balkan lands and Anatolia had to pass through the region to get to the Holy Places in the Hejaz. In order to justify its claim to universal sovereignty over the Muslims, the Ottoman Sultanate needed to secure pilgrims access to Mecca on an annual basis, exerting every effort for this purpose. The safe performance of the pilgrimage is repeatedly described in the *Mühimme* documents as one of the most important duties of the Ottoman state.

The documents of the *Mühimme Defteri* included in this section not only attest to the Ottomans' obvious concern with the security of the pilgrimage, but also illustrate the impact it had on areas that were not directly *en route* to the Hejaz, such as the Lebanon and its vicinity.

In addition to supplying troops for the escort of the pilgrimage caravan on its way to and from the Hejaz, different parts of southern Ottoman Syria had to raise funds to meet the different expenses that the annual pilgrimage entailed. These included the salaries of escort troops and the cost of provisions, as well as the so-called *surre,* or 'purse' – the money paid to bedouin chiefs along the pilgrimage road to ensure their cooperation and quiescence.

## PERSONNEL OF THE PILGRIMAGE CARAVAN

***MD* 68, No. 92**
14 Ramadan 999/6 July 1591
Order to Mansur ibn Furaykh, bey of the *sancak* of Safad and commander of the Damascene pilgrimage:

Since you have been appointed to the command of the pilgrimage, pilgrims have enjoyed safe passage to and from [the Hejaz]. You have [thus] been deemed competent in serving my exalted state. Because of this, our exalted sentiments (*avatif-i aliye*) toward you have been made manifest and you have been awarded a magnificent robe of honour (*sevb-i hilat muris ül-behcet*). Upon [its] arrival, we command that you receive it with due veneration and exaltation (*tazim ve iclal*) and wear it. In accordance with your inherent qualities (*bima futirta aleyh*) of sincere loyalty and perfect (*kemal*) courage and perseverance, you are to continue to take precautions and arrest rebellious bedouins who may endanger the safe passage of the pilgrims. You are to restore rights and work for the safety and comfort of pilgrims, exerting your utmost efforts in this.

***MD* 71, No. 48**
13 Safar 1001/19 November 1592
Order to the *beylerbeyi, kadı* and *defterdar* of Damascus:

You have sent to my threshold of felicity a letter [in which] you explain that, since his appointment, ibn Furaykh, the bey of the *sancak* of Safad, has continued to oppress people and transgress [the law] until the conditions of the poor and the rich – in general, [all of] the inhabitants of the aforesaid *sancak* – have deteriorated. His base conduct [*fesad*] has been continuous. The aforementioned [ibn Furaykh] owes, according to the records, about 60,000 *filori* of state money. Whenever he is asked to pay, he resorts to all kinds of ruses and, thus, has not paid a single *akçe*. He has been commander of the pilgrimage caravan three times. During these periods, he killed rich pilgrims secretly and seized their money repeatedly, threatened others by the sword, and committed all kinds of abominable deeds. He was once arrested in accordance with a noble order, but subsequently released. [Upon his release,] he imprisoned the rich people of the *sancak*, saying to them: ‘You rejoiced when I was imprisoned.’ He then had them killed and illegally seized

their money. Now he has under his command a number of *eşkıya* [villains] armed with muskets [*tüfenkli*]. Since this was bound to create great turmoil [*fitne*], he has [again] been arrested and imprisoned. This person is among the most oppressive and the harm he has done to the people of Damascus is irreparable. If he is not punished this time, he will resume his wicked acts [*fesad*] and will not refrain from killing [my] subjects [*reaya ve beraya*]. A number of the ulema and the pious [*suleha*] of the people of Damascus have testified that it is necessary to execute him in order to restore order. After his arrest, [you explained that] men were sent to confiscate his money and possessions, and that his execution would rid the people of his evil and aggression against rich and poor [alike]. Because of [this state of affairs], my firman has been issued with my imperial writ to execute him if his guilt is proven. I have commanded, upon the arrival [of this order], that you leave ibn Furaykh no opportunity to escape and have him executed. After implementing this order, report back [to Istanbul] with a list of all his money, possessions, *vakif*s, horses, sheep, slaves and all he has by way of property, whatever it may be. Record them, item by item, in a register, so that it [the property] can be restored to the treasury, and send the register to Istanbul. In conclusion, do not delay action upon the arrival of my noble order: execute him immediately so he may be a lesson [*ibret*] to other *eşkıya*.

***MD* 110, p. No. 2691**
Early Sha'ban 1110/early February 1699
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut and the commander of the Damascene pilgrimage, Kabalan Mehmed Pasha:

The commanding officer of the local janissaries (*yerli kul ağasi*) of Damascus, Mustafa, used to be the *kethüda* of the former commander of the pilgrimage, the late Ahmed Pasha. He attained high rank and was knowledgeable about the affairs [of the pilgrimage]. You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, [are instructed to] employ the aforementioned Mustafa as [your] *kethüda* in this blessed year.

***MD* 110, No. 2692**
Early Sha'ban 1110/early February 1699
Order to the commanding officer of the local Damascene janissaries (*yerli kul ağası*), Mustafa:

You, the aforementioned, were the *kethüda* of the [now] deceased commander of the Damascene pilgrimage last year. You are familiar with all of the conditions along the entire pilgrimage route. Now you are again appointed by a firman to the position of *kethüda* of the [new] Damascene pilgrimage commander, the *beylerbeyi* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut.

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, do not hesitate, or act contrary [to it]. Assume the position of *kethüda* to the aforementioned *mirmiran* and do your best in the performance of my exalted service, as appropriate. Accordingly, if you demonstrate disobedience to my noble order, or negligence, or failure in the duty with which you are charged, you will be held responsible and reprimanded. Proceed with caution. Written accordingly.

## Pilgrimage Security and Military Obligations

***MD* 108, No. 1417**
Early Jumada I, 1107/December 1695
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Arslan:

[The pilgrims] have set out on their journey towards Mecca and Medina in this blessed year. It is important that you pay close attention to their reception, comfort and security. [Specifically] appointed for this purpose are the administrator (*mutasarrıf)* of the *sancak* of Jabal ʻAjlun by way of *arpalık*, *emir-ül ümera* [Governor] Musa, and the *sancakbeyi* of ʻAjlun, the prominent emir, Ismail the son of Bulad Pasha. Each of them has been separately sent my noble order and warning. You, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, are to send 200 of your men, fully armed and equipped [and] with your *kethüda*, to join the aforementioned *mirmiran* and *mir* in the duty of reception, because you are also appointed [to this task]. For the [pilgrims'] provisions, you are to pay five piasters[1] of the *mukataat* money in your charge, in accordance with my noble order [as] issued by the finance department (*maliye*).

Now, until the time of the [pilgrims'] reception, you are to ready and equip stalwart men with muskets to accompany your *kethüda*, providing them with the usual provisions and having them at hand and prepared. God

1. Five piasters is an insignificant amount in relation to the partial or full payment of the revenue of the *mukataat*. It is also too small an amount to be of any use in providing for pilgrims' provisions. Possibly some words are missing in this document, such as *yüzbin*, which would make it read 500,000.

willing, when the Muslim pilgrims arrive at ‘Ula station, you will send your men to receive them with the two [officials] indicated above. With God’s help, the joyful pilgrims will be properly protected and guarded on their way back. You will turn your talents [toward this aim], issuing emphatic orders so that there is no negligence or failure to arrive at the usual [pilgrimage] station on time, in order to receive dutifully [the pilgrims]. Beware of allowing any harm or harassment to befall the Muslim pilgrims. Thus written.

***MD* 111, No. 1491**

Early Jumada I, 1113/October 1701

Order to the *alaybeyi*s in the *eyalet* of Damascus:

One of the most important duties of my exalted state is to protect and guard the joyful pilgrims on their way to and from [the Hejaz, where they] intend to visit the two revered sanctuaries (*haremeyn-i muhteremeyn*) in performance of the prescribed rite (*fariza*) of pilgrimage. The *vali* of Damascus will protect and guard the Muslim pilgrims on their way to Mecca and back in this blessed year. The commander of the pilgrimage is [also] appointed to eradicate and suppress the villainous bedouins of the ‘Anaza and Bani Sakhr, who earlier caused the loss of Muslim honour, lives and money. You, the *alaybeyi*s of the *sancak*s, are also commanded and appointed, with all the *zaim*s and timariots [of your respective *sancak*s], to join the aforementioned vizier [in performing this mission] as explained above.

Now, upon the arrival of this order, arrange to have all the *zaim*s and timariots of the *sancak*s [under your command] ready and prepared to join you on time. With God’s help, you will eradicate, suppress and eliminate the aforementioned villains, protect and guard the Muslim pilgrims, and have them go to and return from Mecca in perfect security and safety. Exert yourself [as well in performing] all other [duties] in my exalted service, in accordance with the sound judgement of the aforementioned vizier. [This order] is written so that you will avoid negligence or failure (*taksir*) in satisfying my exalted service.

***MD* 114, No. 22**

Early Shawwal 1114/February 1703

Order to the *vali* of Tripoli, Vizier Arslan Pasha:

The security and safety of Muslim pilgrims travelling by way of the

Damascene pilgrimage route is the most significant duty of my exalted state. More attention must be paid [to it] in this blessed year than [in] the previous year. As the matter necessitates, the *vali* of Aleppo, my vizier, Yusuf Pasha, will accompany the pilgrims' caravan from Damascus to Muzayrib with the fully-equipped military [forces] of the *eyalet* and his [own] men. He will [arrange for] the joyful pilgrims [to] stay in an appropriate place in that area, in order to perform their duties, protect them against any disturbance, and guard them from the villainous bedouins in those parts. He will meet the Muslim pilgrims when it is time in the place called 'Ula and conduct them, safe and sound, to Damascus (*Şam-ı şerif*). You are ordered, along with my vizier, Mehmed Pasha, who is in charge of the *sancak*s of Jerusalem (*Kuds-i şerif*), Nablus, Jabal 'Ajlun and Lajjun by way of *arpalık* – himself and his men – to meet my aforementioned vizier. You, the aforementioned vizier [Arslan], and the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, my vizier, Kabalan Pasha, once you have sent your [respective] *kethüda*s, [each] with 500 fully-equipped men, you must remain alert to guard the Damascene pilgrimage route from the villainous bedouins. If, God forbid, any harm befalls the Muslim pilgrims from the villainous bedouins on the pilgrimage route, you must quickly be informed and immediately send support, in any way [possible] and to any place [necessary]. You must protect the pilgrims against the harm of villainous bedouins and exert yourself in defending and comforting [them]. Accordingly, my imperial command and noble order is issued.

Now it is time for the Muslim pilgrims to move out of Damascus. Those ordered to participate in [the aforesaid] exalted service must be with the aforementioned vizier, the *vali* of Aleppo, ahead of time, as it is necessary and important. [To] you, the aforementioned vizier [Arslan], a noble order and imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun)* [has been] issued and sent. Now, as you were earlier ordered, your *kethüda*, along with 500 fully equipped men, must proceed to the specified place. No matter what it takes, they must be with the aforementioned vizier, the *vali* of Aleppo, ahead of time. Pay close attention [to this matter]. Afterwards, as my firman commands, be always alert and protect the Muslim pilgrims from the villainous bedouins. If you can identify the places [where the pilgrims may encounter danger], you must quickly avert the danger and harm to [them], and send support to the Muslim pilgrims wherever they may be. Expend your soul and power in this by quickly sending your *kethüda* with your men.

If the force you send is insufficient, [if] you fail to send support to the pilgrims when necessary, or if you show negligence, you will not be able to defend yourself and will be held responsible and reprimanded. On this basis, you must be very alert and act to satisfy my royal (*mülukane*) service. Exert yourself in this matter. This imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun)* is issued accordingly.

Copy to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Kabalan Pasha.

***MD* 114, No. 49**
Mid-Shawwal 1114/March 1703
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Kabalan Pasha:

More attention must be given to protecting Muslim pilgrims travelling by the Damascene pilgrimage route this year. You, the aforesaid vizier, must send your *kethüda* with 500 men to join, in Muzayrib, the *vali* of Aleppo, my vizier, Yusuf Pasha, who is charged and appointed commander of the military contingents that will meet the pilgrims. [Your *kethüda*] must act in my exalted service according to the instructions of the aforementioned vizier. There is no need for you to meet the aforementioned commander [yourself]. The aforementioned vizier will be in his place [in Muzayrib]. As explained above, prepare and supply your *kethüda* with 500 troops and have him join Hasan, who is in charge of the *sancak*s of ‘Ajlun and Lajjun by way of *arpalık*, and who is appointed commander of the cavalry escort (*cerde*). Together, they should complete the *cerde* and join the aforementioned *mirmiran* [at Muzayrib] as is appropriate. Alert your *kethüda* and emphasize to him [the need] to exert his best efforts in the service of the *cerde*. This is written to emphasize the matter.

***MD* 114, No. 50**
Copy to the *vali* of Tripoli, Vizier Arslan Pasha.

***MD* 114, No. 507**
Early Dhu al-Hijja 1114/April 1703
Order to the vali of Tripoli:

In this blessed year and with God’s favour, and in order to secure the safety of the Damascene pilgrimage caravan, you, the indicated vizier, are ordered to send your *kethüda* to serve with emir Hasan, the *mutasarrif* of the

*sancak*s of ‘Ajlun and Lajjun by way of *arpalık*, who is charged with the *cerde* along with his men. He is to cooperate with the *cavuş* appointed to the *cerde* to investigate the conditions of roads along which the pilgrims will travel. If there is a possibility of some deliberate trouble to be caused by the villain bedouins (*‘urban*), and if the men accompanying your *kethüda* for the *cerde* are not sufficient [to protect the pilgrims], you are personally ordered to gather your men [troops], the *miralay*s, *zaim*s and timariots in the province of Tripoli and proceed to two or three places (pilgrimage stations) to receive the pilgrims in ‘Ula, Ghazna or any other place. You should arrive there and assist the pilgrims. With God’s favour, you will arrive at the appropriate time. An emphatic directive (*tenbih ve takid*) has been sent to you once or twice so that you exert your efforts to protect the pilgrims, as securing the route of Muslim pilgrimage is one of the most important duties of my exalted state. For this purpose, my honoured noble order (*emir-i şerif şerefyafte*) to this effect have been issued and sent with the appointed *mubaşir*. Upon his arrival, my orders are to be obeyed and you should move with the utmost attention. Definitely, the intentions of the bedouins along the route have to be investigated by way of a *haberdar* (someone appointed to gather and send information). The vali of Sidon-Beirut and the *mutasarrif* of Jerusalem by way of *arpalık* vizier Mehmed Pasha have also been emphatically ordered to be ready to extend their help and support in case of need. Communicate with each other and be all ready. You are to exert your full efforts and pay utmost attention in the service of Muslim pilgrims, and extend to them the help [they might need], as is expected of you and is satisfactory to my imperial [majesty].

Thus my exalted *firman* has been issued [commanding you] to expend your efforts and ability to offer the needed services to Muslim pilgrims.

Copy, as above, to the vali of Sidon-Beirut, vizier Mehmed Pasha.

Copy to the *mutasarrif* of the *sancak*s of ‘Ajlun and Lajjun by way of *arpalık*, and to Hasan, who is appointed in charge of the *Cerde*.

***MD* 115, No. 723**

Late Sha‘ban 1118/December 1706
Order to the *vali* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Mehmed Pasha:

Securing [the safety of] the Muslim pilgrims travelling by the Damascene pilgrimage route in this blessed year is the most important activity requiring the attention of my exalted state. The *vali* of Damascus and commander of

the pilgrimage, my vizier, Süleyman Pasha, is charged with this duty. God willing, he will be able to reach [the Hejaz] in time.

When the aforementioned vizier starts [his journey] towards Mecca with the pilgrimage caravans, it will be necessary and important to protect the Syrian regions [along his route] from the villainous bedouins, to strengthen the [pilgrimage's] military escort and, as circumstances dictate, to eliminate all signs of trouble throughout the [aforesaid] territory. You, the aforementioned vizier, are expected to perform this duty with energy and loyalty. In this connection, you and your troops are charged [with the said duty]. The *alaybeyi*s and all [the] *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet*s of Aleppo and Adana are assigned to accompany you.

There remains due from you the sum of 500 *kese*. According to your undertaking, you are to pay 100 *kese* of [the] sum this year. As an exalted royal favour from me, fifty *kese* of [this] money have been granted to you to assist [in paying] for the food and [other] expenses of the troops [under your command]. Now, upon the arrival [of this order], you and the troops of the *eyalet* are commanded [to act accordingly]. The *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet* of Aleppo will be brought to you by the *alaybeyi* of Aleppo. However, the *zaim*s and timariots of Adana are presently [engaged] with the *vali* of Karaman, my vizier, Hasan Pasha, fighting a rebellious group among the subjects of Zulkadiriyya. They were charged with this [duty] earlier.

Because this [campaign] will take a long time [and is] in the public interest, they cannot return [promptly] to Adana. In order to have them sent to you immediately, the aforementioned vizier, Hasan Pasha, has been commanded by a noble order from me [to take the necessary measures]. God willing, the Zulkadiriyya war will end, whereupon the *zaim*s and timariots of Adana will be sent to you, as my firman made clear. After their arrival, you are to go to meet [the pilgrims] – with your fully equipped troops and with the *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet* of Aleppo – at Muzayrib and station yourself in an appropriate place. God willing, the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage, the aforementioned vizier, will [then] be returning with the Muslim pilgrims. Until he arrives in Damascus, you are to protect the Syrian regions [along his route] properly, seizing the provisions of the villainous bedouins in Hawran and cutting off their food supplies [to achieve this]. Always control the whole [of the said] territory well and stay informed concerning the ill intentions of the [local] bedouins. May God protect you.

Upon the return of the Damascene pilgrims' caravan, meet them in person. Should any trouble arise, you, [in your capacity] as commander of the military escort and chief (*başbuğ*) of the military groups, are to come to the [pilgrims'] rescue quickly and, with God's help, maintain proper order, delivering them to Damascus safe and sound. My imperial expectation (*memul-u hümayun*) of you is [that you] exert yourself [in the performance of your assigned duties] in word and deed.

In short, until the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage arrives [back] in Damascus from the Hejaz, you are to protect the Syrian regions, seize the provisions of the bedouins of Hawran and stop their exploitation (*intifa*) in all the [aforesaid] territory. Upon the return of the Damascene pilgrims, you are to receive them properly. God willing, you will act with reason and zeal. You are expected to perform this duty to the end and to do your best. Be careful: the register of troops (*cebe defteri*) of the *eyalet*s of both Aleppo and Adana are now being taken out of the central registry (*defterhane-i amire*) to be sent to you. Protect every individual. At the assigned place [of meeting], enter in a register the names and descriptions of all those [present] with you, [indicating] their [respective] *zeamet*s and *timar*s, and send [the register] to my state. You are accordingly commanded in my exalted service. If you show any negligence, your excuses will not be heard and my imperial disposition toward you will change (*tagayyür tab-ı hümayun*). Consequently, be alert, exerting yourself in every way, and report to my state. [It is] in this connection [that] the exalted firman with the imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun*) is issued.

***MD* 115, No. 766**

Mid-Ramadan 1118/December 1706

Order to the *vali* of Safad and Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Muhammad Pasha:

Protecting the Muslim pilgrims travelling in this blessed year by the Damascene route is an obligation and a matter of importance to my exalted state. God willing, they will be able to reach [Mecca] on time. When the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage sets out for Mecca (*Mekke-i mükerremeye müteveccih*), you, the aforementioned vizier, along with all the *alaybeyi*s*,* *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet*s of Aleppo and Adana, must arrive with fully-equipped troops at Muzayrib and wait [for him] at a suitable place. God willing, the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage, the aforementioned vizier, will return with [the] Muslim pilgrims

from Mecca. When he arrives in Syria (*Şam*), you are to maintain order there, seize the provisions of the emirs of the villainous bedouins in Hawran and stop their food supplies. Protect the region constantly and stay informed about the trickery (*mekide*) of [the] bedouins and [other] ill-intentioned people. Upon the return of the Damascene pilgrims' caravan, meet it yourself, as the situation dictates – since you are the chief (*başbuğ*) of the military groups appointed for the escort – and come to their assistance quickly [when need be]. Maintain proper order and deliver them to Damascus safe and sound. You are charged [with this], as is explained in my imperial writ (*hatt-ı hümayun*) and commanded in my noble order.

Now, the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage, the aforementioned vizier, is about to start [the journey to Mecca] with the Muslim pilgrims and you are commanded to be in Muzayrib before the time [of his arrival there]. My honoured noble order is issued to emphasize [the need for] speed. My noble order and emphatic command (*emir-i şerif ile tenbih ve tekid*) have also been issued to the *vali* of Aleppo and *beylerbeyi* of Adana to dispatch the *alaybeyi*s and all *zaim*s and timariots from the *eyalet*s of Aleppo and Adana to the aforesaid place. Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, do not delay or halt. You are commanded to proceed to Muzayrib immediately, with fully equipped troops. You are also commanded to take with you the *alaybeyi*s*,* *zaim*s and timariots of the *eyalet*s of Aleppo and Adana and to station yourself in an appropriate place. God willing, when the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage returns by way of the Hejaz route – and before he enters Damascus – you will do as my firman commands with respect to maintaining order in the Syrian regions [along his way] and seizing the provisions of the bedouins of Hawran and stopping their food supplies, as well as meeting the returning Damascene pilgrims [and] performing all the [other] duties required by my firman. Move cautiously, exert your unlimited effort and zeal (*hamiyet*), and use all of your abilities in word and deed, as is expected of you. Send for the troop registers (*cebe defterleri*) pertaining to Aleppo and Adana beforehand; take down the names and descriptions (*isim ve resimler*) of those of the *zaim*s and timariots [who are] present in the designated place, as well as those [who are] not present. Send [the record of those present and those absent] to my state. You are thus commanded to arrive at Muzayrib on time and perform the exalted duties [assigned to you]. If you fail, or exhibit laziness, your excuses and arguments will not be heard, and you will be held responsible, as decided.

Therefore, move with extreme caution, be at the designated place before [the assigned] time and report back, informing my state of all the [prevailing] conditions. My exalted firman is written in this connection.

***MD* 115, No. 2102**

Late Jumada II, 1119/September 1707

Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Beirut, Ibrahim Pasha:

With God's favour, increased attention should be paid this blessed year, more than [in] earlier years, with respect to the reception of Muslim pilgrims travelling by way of Damascus. In this connection, Islam, the *emir ül-ümera el-kiram* who is in charge of the *sancak* of Jerusalem (*Kuds-i şerif*) by way of *arpalık,* is appointed commander (*başbuğ*) of the troops receiving the pilgrims. You, the aforementioned *mirmiran* [of Sidon-Beirut], must send your men with your *kethüda* to receive the Muslim pilgrims alongside the aforementioned *mirmiran* [Islam]. You are under orders [to do] this. Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, prepare the soldiers with your *kethüda* and have them fully equipped and ready. God willing, when the time comes for the reception of the Muslim pilgrims, send [the troops] to the aforementioned *mirmiran*, Islam, in accordance with my firman, whether [the place of reception] is Bir Ghanam (Bir al-Ghanam), which is six hours away from 'Ula (al-'Ula), or in Medina, as the case may be. Act according to the needs of receiving the Muslim pilgrims – according to the dictates of all my exalted services – and on the basis of the sound judgement (*rey-i sevab*) of the aforementioned *mirmiran* [Islam]. Protect [the pilgrims] from the villainous bedouins and deliver [them] safely to Damascus. Give your *kethüda* emphatic orders concerning the performance of this service and the [need to] exhibit zeal and commitment (*gayret ve hamiyet*) in the service of the Muslim pilgrims, as my firman commands. This year, you must prepare the troops to meet the caravans of the Damascene pilgrims whenever it becomes necessary. If your *kethüda* does not deliver assistance, your excuses and arguments will not be heard and you will be severely punished and reprimanded. For these reasons, pay attention and be alert. As the firman commands, send the fully equipped troops with your *kethüda* to the aforementioned *mirmiran* [Islam] at the time of the reception of pilgrims. Put your tongue and your soul into this service and do not temporize. [It is] with respect to this [that] my exalted firman is issued and this imperial order (*hüküm-i hümayun*) is written.

***MD* 115, No. 2103**
Late Shawwal 1119/January 1708

Copy to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Mehmed Pasha, concerning [the] sending of 500 cavalry with his *kethüda* on the aforesaid date.

## Financial Obligations relating to Pilgrimage

***MD* 78, No. 2160**
(Early Rabi‘ I–late Dhu al-Hijja 1018/June 1609–March 1610)
Order to the previous *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, now retired, Yusuf Pasha ibn Sayfa:

The previous *beylerbeyi* of [BLANK], who is the present *defterdar* of Damascus, Hacı Ali, has sent a letter to my threshold of felicity stating that the money due from the tax farms of Tripoli for the expenses of the noble pilgrimage has not been paid on time.

***MD* 115, No. 449**
Early Jumada II, 1118/September 1706
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Mehmed Pasha, and the *kadı*s of Sidon-Beirut:

The exertion of great effort to protect and guard the pilgrims travelling by way of Damascus in this blessed year, so that they go and return safely, is the greatest concern of my exalted state. What has been assigned, with the knowledge of the commander of the pilgrimage, [to pay the] gratuities (*bahşiş*), salaries (*ulufe*), ammunition (*mühimmat*) and other needs (*levazım*) of the 1500 irregular troops (*levend*) of infantry (*piyade*) and cavalry (*süvari*), in addition to provisions arriving from Egypt, cash presents (*surre*) [for] the bedouins, and the rental of camels for the local (*yerli*) janissaries of Damascus, is 40,000 piasters, [to be paid] from the dues of the tax farms of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut for the year 1117.

Now upon the arrival of my noble order, you, the aforementioned vizier, must not delay, but act quickly, preparing [the money] and delivering it in full to the person designated by the commander of the pilgrimage. When you deliver [the money], get a receipt. Have a legal deed [written] on the back of my noble order and keep it because, at the time of accounting, [the amount delivered] will be regarded as part of the debt [you owe the state]. In

accordance with my noble order, [as] explained above, an order [to the same effect] has been issued by the finance department (*maliye*).

**_MD_ 115, No. 452**

Early Jumada II, 1118/September 1706

Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, the superintendent and revenue collector (*nazır ve kabız*) of the tax farms of the aforesaid *eyalet*, and the *kadı* of Tripoli:

Guarding and protecting the pilgrims travelling in this blessed year by way of Damascus, so that they go and return safely, [requires] the exertion of great effort and attention, this matter being of the utmost importance to my exalted state. The gratuities (*bahşiş*), salaries (*üulufe*), ammunition and other needs of the 500 *levend* of infantry (*piyade*) and cavalry (*süvari*) [escorting the pilgrims], as well as the provisions to be sent from Egypt and the cash presents [for] the bedouins (*urban surreleri*) and local (*yerli*) janissaries of Damascus, will [have to] be arranged with the knowledge of the commander of the pilgrims' caravan. The tax farms of Tripoli are required to pay only 80,000 piasters [of the revenue] for the year 1117 [for this purpose]. Now you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*, upon the arrival of my noble order, do not delay [paying the amount] or act in any way contrary [to the order]. Prepare the aforesaid amount of 80,000 piasters and deliver it, before it is due, to the person designated by the commander of the pilgrims' caravan. [Receipt of] your payment must be recorded on the back of my exalted order as a legal deed, so that it will be considered part of your debt (*deyn*) [to the state] at the time of accounting. For this [purpose, you must] keep this document. In accordance with my noble order [as] issued by the finance department (*maliye*), this firman is written [for you] to act as explained above.

**_MD_ 115, No. 463**

Early Jumada II, 1118/September 1706

Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Mustafa Pasha, and to the official in charge of the collection of the poll tax (*memur-u cizye*) from the Christians (*kefere*, literally 'infidels') and Jews, for the year 1119:

Guarding and protecting the pilgrims travelling by way of Damascus in this blessed year, so that they go and return safely, [requires] the exertion of

great effort and attention, this matter being of the utmost importance to my exalted state. The gratuities (*bahşiş*), salaries (*ulufe*), ammunition and other needs of the 1500 *levend*, infantry (*piyade*) and cavalry (*süvari*) [escorting the pilgrims], as well as the provisions to be purchased and sent from Egypt, the cash presents (*surre*) [for] the bedouins, and the camels [to be provided for] the local (*yerli*) Damascene janissaries, will [have to] be arranged with the knowledge of the commander of the pilgrims' caravan. The amount of 20,602.5 *esedi* piasters is assigned [toward meeting these expenses, and will] come from the poll tax revenue due from the Christians (*kefere*, literally 'infidels') and Jews of the *eyalet* of Tripoli for the year 1119. Now upon the arrival of this noble order, you, the aforementioned poll tax collector (*cizye-dar*) of Tripoli, must not delay or make excuses [regarding this matter]. Prepare the amount of 20,602.5 *esedi* piasters as soon as possible, in good time, and deliver them in full to the person designated by the commander of the pilgrimage caravan. Have your payment recorded on the back of this noble order and keep it [as a receipt]. A directive from the finance department (*maliye*) has been issued in accordance with the noble order.

***MD* 115, No. 1020**

Late Dhu al-Qa'da 1118/March 1707

Order to the deputy governor (*mütesellim*) of Sidon-Beirut:

The 40,000 piasters due from the former *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Mustafa Pasha, for the expenses of the noble pilgrimage [during] this blessed year, have not been received on time by the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage, my vizier, Süleyman Pasha. It is extremely necessary and important that this amount be delivered in any way [possible] to my afore-mentioned vizier at the station of 'Ula [in order to finance] the bedouin cash presents (*surre*) and the military escort on his return [journey]. God forbid that the aforesaid money does not reach the said place [in time], as this will most probably cause some disturbance. According to the letter of the aforementioned vizier, the sum of 15,000 piasters is [also] due as salaries (*mevacib*) from the revenue of the tax farms of Sidon-Beirut for the year 1117; [it was] to be sent to the Asitane of my felicity in accordance with my issued firman [and as recorded in] the revenue and expenditure [entries] in the register of the imperial day-book of accounts (*ruznamçe-i hümayun*). As it has been put on record, a special agent (*müstakilen mübaşir*) has been appointed and sent [for the purpose].

Now you, the aforementioned *mütesellim*, [must take note of the fact that] securing the Damascene pilgrimage route is one of the most long standing duties of my exalted state [and that] sending the aforesaid money under military escort to the aforementioned vizier is a matter of importance. Put [this money] together with the money of the salaries (*mevacib*). If you have already sent [the *mevacib* money], have [it] stopped at a place from which it can be recalled. Do not heed [contrary] correspondence from my state that may follow, for it has been decided to have [the *mevacib* money] returned. As explained above, you will prepare 15,000 piasters of the revenue from the tax farms of Sidon-Beirut – which is to be paid to the aforementioned vizier at the station of ‘Ula in any way [possible] – and deliver [the amount] to the aforesaid agent (*mübaşir*). God willing, you will exert yourself to deliver it to the designated place as soon as possible.

Therefore, when the indicated agent (*mübaşir*) arrives, deliver to him the aforesaid amount. Make no excuses for delaying [delivery] as this will mean delaying an urgent matter. In that case, you will be subject to the most severe punishment, which is execution. If you care for your life, prepare the aforesaid amount in full and send it, exerting in this your best efforts. My noble order is issued by the finance department (*maliye*) that [you] act as explained above and, accordingly, my firman is written.

***MD* 115, No. 1021**
Mid-Dhu al-Qa‘da 1118/February 1707
Order to the *kadı* of Tripoli:

The 40,000 piasters assigned for the expenses of the noble pilgrimage of this blessed year, to be paid by the former *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Mustafa Pasha, to the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage, my vizier, Süleyman Pasha, have not been received by the aforementioned vizier. The aforementioned vizier is now about to depart with the Damascene pilgrims’ caravan for the pilgrimage season [and the fact that the money has not yet arrived] will be the cause of great disturbance. You must prepare the amount in any way [possible], as it is necessary and important to deliver the said amount [to the vizier] under military escort at the station of ‘Ula, for the cash presents (*surre*) to the bedouins on his return [journey]. The aforementioned vizier reports in his letter to my state that the said *mirmiran* [Mustafa Pasha] has much money. The money [demanded of him] has been assigned to [secure] the safety of Muslim pilgrims and a number of my noble

orders have been issued which emphatically command [its payment]. Until now, the aforementioned Mustafa Pasha has demonstrated villainy and daring, and my firman is issued to have him brought as a prisoner to the Asitane of my felicity, along with his money and possessions [which are to be confiscated for the state]. For this purpose, the *kethüda* of the guards (*kapıcılar*) of my exalted threshold, Hacı Ali, is [hereby] appointed agent (*mübaşir*).

Now, upon the arrival of my noble order, you, the aforementioned *kadı* (*mevlana*), must arrest and imprison the aforementioned Mustafa Pasha, with the knowledge of the aforementioned agent. Make a record of all the money, possessions, animals, sheep, and anything of value [owned by him; also his] horses, mules, camels and all [pack] animals, preparing the register according to the *Şar'*. If possible, send the money and valuables to [Istanbul] by delivering [them] to the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*). Place the things that cannot be transferred in a secure place and keep them there. Earlier, Sayyid Muhammad, the *nakib* of Jerusalem (*Kuds-i şerif nakibi*) who demonstrated villainy, was taken to Tripoli and he is now imprisoned in the citadel of Tripoli. Both the aforementioned Mustafa Pasha and the aforementioned Sayyid Muhammad are to be handed over to the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*) – along with the sealed register in which [their] effects are recorded – who will bring them, under arrest, to the Asitane of my felicity. [It is] in this connection [that] I ordered the issuance of my exalted firman.

***MD* 115, No. 1028**

Late Dhu al-Qa'da 1118/March 1707
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Mehmed Pasha:

The amount of 44,000 piasters must be paid to the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage, my vizier, Süleyman Pasha, as part of the expenses of the Damascene pilgrimage for this blessed year. [This is] because the former *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Mustafa Pasha, has not paid [the money]. This specified amount is to be sent with the military escort (*cerde*) [of the pilgrimage] to the station of 'Ula [and] paid to the aforementioned vizier for the bedouins' cash present (*surre*) upon his return. This is very necessary and important, and God forbid that the money should not be in the aforesaid place [when the vizier arrives there]. You will [then] have helped to cause [the] disorder and turbulence that will probably ensue [as a consequence].

To comply with the letter of the aforementioned vizier [Süleyman Pasha]

and his report, you, the aforementioned vizier [Mehmed Pasha], must send to the Asitane of my felicity, as part of the dues of the tax farms of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut, which is in your concession (*iltizam*), the amount of 15,000 piasters for the salaries (*mevacib*) of the year 1117, in accordance with my firman. You must pay all dues and money for the surveyed *vakif* [holdings]. As explained above, the assigned 15,000 piasters [taken] from the tax farms of Beirut-Sidon [and] recorded by the *mütesellim*, must be prepared and delivered to the designated official (*memur*). To [achieve] this aim, noble orders were earlier sent by the finance department (*maliye*) and my imperial council (*divan-i hümayun*). The aforesaid amount is to be collected from the places indicated in order to be spent on troops [escorting the pilgrims]; [it should therefore be] sent to ʻUla and delivered to the commander of the Damascene pilgrimage, [who is] the vizier indicated above. When you receive the aforesaid amount, it must be sent this year to ʻUla with a military escort, with the knowledge of the agent (*mübaşir*) specified.

My noble order places this [matter] in your charge, since the [maintenance of] order on the Damascene pilgrimage route is a long-established duty requiring attention. In this blessed year, as explained above, the assigned money must reach the aforesaid place. If it does not arrive there, the affairs of the Muslim pilgrims will be in great disorder. [Therefore,] it must definitely be delivered to the aforementioned vizier with the military escort. For confirmation and to expedite the collection and delivery of the money to the [specified] place, my honoured noble order has been repeatedly issued. For further confirmation, this noble order is sent also to you, the aforementioned vizier [Mehmed Pasha].

Now, [to you] the aforementioned vizier: the money is in your custody to the amount of 15,000 piasters. Deliver it to the *mütesellim* in full as a loan. God willing, all assigned money [along with] the 44,000 piasters, will be delivered. Beware of its non-arrival, as this will be cause for disorder. Send it all, together with the military escort, to its [assigned] place, with the knowledge of the agent (*mübaşir*) appointed by my firman [and] with more than usual attention. [To ensure] additional care, I have commanded the issuing of my exalted firman.

***MD* 115, No. 1032**

Late Dhu al-Qaʻda 1118/March 1707

Order to the deputy governor (*mütesellim*) of Sidon-Beirut:

Of the [total] expenses for the noble pilgrimage in this blessed year, the amount to be paid by the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Mustafa Pasha, to the *vali* of Damascus and commander of the pilgrimage, my vizier, Süleyman Pasha, is 44,000 piasters. The said amount must be paid to the aforementioned vizier as he returns [from the pilgrimage] for the bedouins' cash presents (*surre*). It is necessary and important that [this amount] be delivered to the aforementioned vizier under military escort (*cerde-i askeri)* at the station of ‘Ula. God forbid that the money not reach the aforesaid place upon [the vizier's] arrival there, as this will most probably cause disturbances and disorder. You have been informed [of the situation] by a letter from the aforementioned vizier. An agent (*mübaşir*) has been appointed to permit you to dispatch to the Asitane of my felicity 15,000 piasters of revenue due for the year 1117 from the tax farms of Sidon-Beirut, [in accordance with] orders already issued by the finance department (*maliye*) and my imperial council (*divan-ı hümayun*) on the basis of the [tax farms'] revenue and expenditure, as recorded in my imperial day-book of accounts (*ruzname).*

The keeping of order on the Damascene pilgrimage route is a long-standing and important duty. In this blessed year, as explained above, the assigned sum must reach the aforesaid place [on time]; if it is not delivered, this will cause great difficulty to the Muslim pilgrims. The money must definitely be delivered under military escort to the aforementioned vizier. This is mandatory and must be done. To further emphasize and expedite [this important matter], my honoured noble order has been issued and sent. Now, you, the aforementioned *mütesellim*, must closely look at the funds in [your] treasury. If a firman is sent in the near future, keep in place what [money] may be returned. [Should such a firman be sent,] do not consider subsequent orders from my state, as the decision would have been made to return [the money]. As explained above, collect the 15,000 piasters from the revenue of the Sidon-Beirut tax farms and deliver [the amount] to the aforementioned vizier at the station of ‘Ula, by means of the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*), in good time. Exert yourself [in this matter] and, when the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*) arrives, deliver to him the said amount. Do not make any excuses for delay or inaction. Should you cause any delay or obstruction [with respect] to this urgent matter, the most severe penalty, which is execution, is [already] decided upon. If you care for your life and soul (*yaş ve can*), prepare the aforesaid amount and dispatch it, exerting the

utmost effort [to achieve this]. [It is in this connection] that I have commanded the issuing of my exalted firman.

***MD* 115, No. 1318**
Late Safar 1119/May–June 1707
Order to the *vali* of Sidon-Beirut, Vizier Mehmed Pasha:

You, the aforementioned vizier, owe [the state] 506 *kese* from the accounts of the *eyalet* of Egypt in an earlier time, as [is indicated by] the acknowledgement of debt (*temessük*) that you have submitted. Of this sum, the instalment [due] for the year 1110 is 100 *kese*. Fifty *kese* [of this amount] were bestowed upon you when you were commanded to join the campaign in Syria (*Şam*). The other 50 *kese* should not have remained unpaid until now and must be paid. You have sent 30 *kese* and 20 *kese* remain. You are not on campaign now. Sometimes, you send part [of the money you owe] and, sometimes, you make false excuses for [further] delays. You have a period of 40 days to send [the remaining] 20 *kese*; by the end of this period, it should have arrived.

[Regarding] the instalment for the aforesaid year, my firman has been issued [ordering] that the 50 *kese* that you owe must be paid in one payment and delivered to the treasury (*hazine-i amire*). Apart from this, you owe money from the tax farms of the *eyalet* of Sidon-Beirut for the year 1117 – apart from deliveries (*teslimat*) and transfers – 15,655.5 piasters for the expenses of the noble pilgrimage, and the [unpaid] arrears for the tax farms of Tripoli. However, you say that you cannot pay.

Now, the total [amount] that you have to send to the treasury, as explained [to me] by the chief guard (*kapıcıbaşı*) of my exalted threshold, is 30,655.5 piasters. The said amount is designated for salaries and cannot be paid in instalments, [but] must be sent and delivered with the appointed and dispatched agent (*mübaşir*) [BLANK]. Upon the arrival of my noble order, deliver the aforesaid amount quickly. Do not make excuses [for failing to] fulfil my imperial wish. Whether it is the instalment for the year 1117 from the account of Egypt, which is 20 *kese*, or [money owed] from the tax farms of Sidon-Beirut, it is all due from you, and amounts to 40,655.5 piasters. Prepare [the amount] and send it safely with people coming [to Istanbul], or in any other way [possible]. The 30 *kese* previously [prepared] must [also] be sent on time with the knowledge of the aforementioned agent (*mübaşir*), as decided. Act with caution and according to the firman stated above: the

said sum must reach the treasury. My exalted firman is issued in this connection, and [also] for the issuing of a noble order by the finance department (*maliye*), as explained.

***MD* 115, No. 1855**
Late Rajab 1119/October 1707
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Tripoli, Mehmed Pasha:

In order to secure the Muslim pilgrims travelling, with God's favour, by way of Damascus in this blessed year and in accordance with the firman issued with the knowledge of the administrator (*mutasarrıf*) of the *sancak* of Gaza by way of *arpalık* [and of] the commander of the pilgrimage (*mir-i hac*), Hasan ibn Qawwas, may his glory endure, concerning the salaries (*ulufe*) and gratuities (*bahşiş*) of the *levend*, all the necessary provisions and requisites, and fodder for the camels of the local (*yerli*) janissaries of Damascus, it was earlier decided that 50,000 piasters were to be paid from the revenue (*mal*) of the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Tripoli for the year 1118. Recently, [it has also been decided] that [a further] 22,500 piasters must be paid from the revenue of the poll tax [on non-Muslims] (*cizye*). The total is 72,500 piasters. [On] earlier [occasions], you have failed to pay [the amounts required] in response to the orders issued by the finance department (*maliye*). The case [now] being such and with the season of pilgrimage approaching, it is important and necessary that the amount [required] be delivered to the aforementioned commander of the pilgrimage beforehand. My noble order is issued to have the aforesaid matter expedited.

Now, the said amount must be designated for the requisites of the pilgrims' journey when my noble order arrives. As of this moment, you must attend to the aforesaid requisites, preparing [what is required for] the pilgrims' journey in advance. This matter is not comparable to other matters. If the said amount has not yet been sent, you must quickly prepare and send it with the designated agent (*mübaşir*) for delivery. You must obtain from the commander of the pilgrimage a receipt (*temessük*) with the date of delivery [specified]. No excuses will be accepted from you. [Should you fail to deliver,] not only will you be dismissed [from your office] and reprimanded, but you will be subject, without mercy, to execution. If you care for your life, deliver the said amount in advance and obtain a receipt to clear your record and, later, write to my state without delay to inform me.

***MD* 115, No. 1992**
Late Ramadan 1119/December 1707
Order to the *beylerbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut, Ibrahim Pasha:

[To] you, the aforementioned *mirmiran*: the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Sidon-Beirut have been assigned [to you] and you must send, every year, on the first of Rajab, 44,400 piasters of the revenue of the old *ocaklık* fief and [an additional] 40,000 piasters, to pay for the provisions (*kiler*) of the Damascene pilgrimage, the fodder for the camels and all the necessary [pilgrimage] requisites. [Only] one-tenth [of the amount] has been transferred for [these] expenses, the amount delivered being 9930 [piasters]. You are [hereby] informed that the question of the noble pilgrimage is not to be compared with other questions, [as it is one] of the longest established duties of my exalted state. Accordingly, you must pay in advance the *ocaklık* and other revenue [still] outstanding. [This] is an important and necessary matter; [any] delay [in payment] will not be forgiven and will earn you a severe reprimand. Now, you must obey the order upon arrival. If you care for your safety, prepare the money in full, in golden *eşrefi* coins, deliver it to the treasury of Damascus, without any decrease, and procure a clearance of your record (*ibra-i zimmet*). Should any fault or delay occur this time, your excuses and arguments will not be heard and you will be killed without mercy like a slave. [Now that] you know this, exert yourself regarding the completion [of the required payment]. My exalted firman is issued as ordered.

# Appendix

## Grants Awarded for Participation in the 1585 Campaign against the Druzes

The following are grants of different kinds awarded to a variety of people as a reward for the significant contributions they made to the war effort against the Druzes in the 1585 invasion of the Shuf. Volume 50 of the *Mühimme Defteri*, where these documents come from, is almost entirely devoted to grants that Ibrahim Pasha, the commander of the 1585 invasion of the Druze regions, conferred upon local persons and members of the Ottoman military and other personnel who assisted him in his mission to Egypt and Syria.

***MD* 50, No. 121**
(993/1585)
Bilal ʻAbdallah (3000),
Mubarak ʻAli (3000),
Mirjan (3000),
Hasan ibn Jaʻfar (*gedik*).

The aforementioned were among the followers of ibn Maʻn in his rebellion. Because they surrendered of their own free will and declared their allegiance and, as an incentive, Bilal has been awarded a *zeamet*, the next [two men]

mentioned, *timar*s, and Hasan, the position of janissary (*yeniçeri gediği*).

***MD* 50, No. 122**
(993/1585)

The aforementioned Firhad, [one] of the men of ibn Ma'n, is a courageous man. Because of his service, he is awarded an initial *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 123**
(993/1585)
The beylerbeylik of the Druze vilayet (beylerbeylik-i vilayet-i Duruz):

Mustafa Kethüda, a man well known for his sincerity and a member of the *müteferrika* of the exalted threshold, is to be awarded all that has been wrested from ibn Ma'n and the other accursed Druzes (*sair-i Dürüz-i melain*), because of his service and courage.

***MD* 50, No. 307**
(993/1585)
*Çavuş*es of the exalted threshold (*dergah-ı ali çavuşlari*):

Qasim ibn Sharaf al-Din, one of the *zaim*s of Damascus, and ibn Ma'n,[1] whom the former undertook to bring [over to our side], are hereby attached to the order of *çavuş*es of the exalted threshold.

***MD* 50, No. 310**
993/1585

The bey of Safad has sent a letter [stating that] the son of Yusuf is a courageous man who performed well in war and in chastening the Druzes. He is awarded an initial *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 329**
(993/1585)
Muhammad Ahmad Hani Bey,
'Ala al-Din,

1. It is not clear here who this ibn Ma'n is, but the document obviously indicates that there were Ma'nid emirs who cooperated with the Ottomans against their kinsman, Korkmaz.

‘Ali ibn Badr al-Din.

The three aforementioned individuals served as cavalry musketeers (*hayl-i tüfenk*) during ibn Ma‘n’s rebellion in the villages. Because of their services, each is to be awarded an initial *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 332**
(993/1585)
Shihab ibn Lutfi (5000), (6000),
Ghulam al-Din ibn Badr al-Din (3000),
Muhammad Mansur (3000).

The aforementioned Druze governors are relatives, or followers, of Muhammad ibn Sharaf al-Din, who declared their obedience, and are to be awarded *timar*s as described above, for the first time. Noble orders (*hüküm-i şerif*) to this effect have been issued.[2]

***MD* 50, No. 426**
(993/1585)
Corps of my exalted threshold (*cemaat-i dergah-ı muallam*), Mustafa ‘Abdallah (30).

Because of what the aforementioned has done in the war against the Druzes, he is to be awarded a promotion of three *akçe*s on his *timar*.

***MD* 50, No. 428**
(993/1585)
Zeamet Banam Yusuf, the guard of the exalted threshold (34,000).

The aforementioned rendered important services in [the province of] Damascus, especially in chastening the Druzes. He is awarded a promotion of 50,000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 430**
(993/1585)

The bey of Jablah, Muhammad Bey, recommended that ‘Ali ibn Muhammad

2. This further indicates that some Druze leaders did cooperate with the Ottomans in the 1585 invasion of the Shuf.

of the cavalry (*gureba)* be awarded an initial *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s for his services in collecting state money and for his participation in the campaign against the Druzes.

***MD* 50, No. 432**
(993/1585)

Upon the recommendation of the aforementioned, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Bey, who holds a *timar* in the aforesaid *liva*, is to be awarded a promotion of 1500 *akçe*s on his *timar*.

***MD* 50, No. 443**
(993/1585)
ʻAlam al-Din, *mukaddem* of the Matn.

The aforementioned came to our side and offered his obedience, along with [that of] all his followers. He surrendered his muskets and served [us] well. He is to be awarded a *zeamet* of the lowest order.[3]

***MD* 50, No. 445**
(993/1585)
*Zeamet* Mustafa Kethüda in Cyprus, 20,000.

The aforementioned did well during the war against the Druzes and is hereby awarded a promotion of 2000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 449**
(993/1585)

Upon the recommendation of the bey of Famagusta, Jafar Bey, ʻAli ibn Ahmad, [one] of the men of ibn Maʻn, is to be awarded an initial *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s in return for his services.

***MD* 50, p. 85, No. 462**
(993/1585)

Upon the recommendation of the bey of Safad, Mahmud ibn ʻAli, a useful

3. This is another Druze chief who appears to have come over to the Ottoman side.

man who participated in the war against the Druzes, is to be awarded an initial *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 521**
(993/1585)
Corps of the exalted threshold (*cemaat-i dergah-ı ali*), Muhammad.

Because of his service in the war against the Druzes, he is to be awarded a promotion of two *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 552**
(993/1585)
Corps of the *gönüllüyan* of Egypt (*cemaat-i gönüllüyan-ı Mısr*), Nasuh Abdullah.
On the 16th of [BLANK].

Because of his performance in the war against the Druzes, where he was useful, he [Nasuh Abdullah] is to be attached to the cavalry regiment (*gureba bölüğü*) in Istanbul.

***MD* 50, No. 610**
(993/1585)
Certificate (*tezkere*) given to [a member of the] janissary corps of the exalted threshold (*cemaat-i yeniçeriyan-ı dergah-ı ali*), Hızır:

The aforementioned has been loyal and performed well in the war against the Druzes. He is to be assigned guard duties.

***MD* 50, No. 617**
(993/1585)
Kadri, Mehmet, Osman.
The aforementioned have also done well in the war against the Druzes. Each is to be awarded a gift of three *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 654**
(993/1585)
Muhammad ibn ‘Ala’ al-Din.

The aforementioned has done well in cutting off the heads of Druzes during

the war against them. He is to be awarded five *akçe*s in his position as armourer (*cebeci*).

***MD* 50, No. 657**
(993/1585)
Bakr.
Certificate (*tezkere*) issued in 993/1585:

The aforementioned performed well in cutting off the heads of Druzes during the war against them. He is to be attached to the company of armourers (*cebeciler zümresi*) in my exalted threshold.

***MD* 50, No. 659**
(993/1585)
Promotion.

Hasan Bey, the bey of the *sancak* of [BLANK] has done well in cutting off the heads of Druzes in the war against them. He is to be awarded a promotion of 30,000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 660**
(993/1585)
*Müteferrika* of Egypt,
*Gönüllüyan* of Egypt,
'Ali Shahsuwar.
On the 30th of [BLANK]:

The aforementioned Hasan Bey has sent a register in which he states that the aforementioned performed well in the war against the Druzes. He requested that they be assigned *timar*s. I also received a request from 'Ali Pasha to this effect.

***MD* 50, No. 667**
19 [BLANK] 993/1585
Certificate (*tezkere*) given concerning the registration of the *zeamet* due to Muhammad in the aforesaid place in Anatolia.

Company of pursuivants (*çavuşluk*):
The *beylerbeyi* of Damascus, Uveys Pasha, has sent a letter. [In it, he

says that] Husayn has a *zeamet* of 20,000 *akçe*s in the *sancak* of Lajjun. He has done well in cutting off the heads of Druzes in the war against them. [Uveys Pasha] requests that [Husayn] be attached to the company of *çavuşluk* of the exalted threshold.

***MD* 50, No. 678**
(993/1585)
Certificate (*tezkere*) given to Muhammad ibn ‘Abdallah.

He participated in cutting off the heads of Druzes in the war against them. He is awarded a position among the armourers (*cebeci gedikleri*).

***MD* 50, No. 685**
(993/1585)
Corps of the sons of the cavalry soldiers (*cemaat-i ebna-yı sipahiyan*), Mustafa,
Iskandar, and Yusuf Ahmad.
On the 26th of [BLANK]:

Having performed well in the war against the Druzes, they are each awarded two *akçe*s as a promotion.

***MD* 50, No. 713**
(993/1585)

Uveys Pasha has sent a letter requesting that the warden (*dizdar*) of the citadel of Damascus, Hacı ‘Ali, who holds a *timar* of 12,000 *akçe*s, be promoted to 20,000 *akçe*s because of his service in providing ammunition during the war against the Druzes. The aforementioned also made this request earlier. He [Hacı ‘Ali] is to be assigned [a timar of] 17,000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 714**
(993/1585)
Nurallah ibn Muharram.

The *kadı* of Damascus, Muslih al-Din Efendi, [reports] that the aforementioned has, in fact, long been loyal and has performed well in supplying provisions in this war against the Druzes. He also performed well in earlier

campaigns. He is to be awarded 20 *akçe*s and to be attached to the company (*zümre*) of the sons of cavalry soldiers (*cemaat-i ebna-yı sipahiyan*).

***MD* 50, No. 719**
(993/1585)
Corps of the *müteferrika* of Egypt, Hasan ibn ʻAbdallah.
On the 30th of [BLANK]:

A bey of one of the tax farms (*mukataat*) of Egypt has sent a letter [reporting that] the aforementioned has done well in collecting state money and is currently performing satisfactorily in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the company of the sons of *sipahi*s with two-thirds (*sulsan*) of the income.

***MD* 50, No. 719**
(993/1585)
Certificate (*tezkere*) given to Ahmad ibn Nasuh:

The *beylerbeyi* of Ibrim has sent a letter. Due to the participation of the aforementioned in the war against the Druzes, he is to be awarded *iptidaden cebeciler* [the starting salary of a *cebeci*].

***MD* 50, No. 725**
(993/1585)
Hasan:

The aforementioned has been useful in collecting state money in Egypt and has participated in the war against the Druzes from beginning to end. He is to be awarded 20 *akçe*s and attached to the company of the sons of *sipahi*s.

***MD* 50, No. 735**
(993/1585)
Corps of the *müteferrika* of Egypt, Ahmad ibn ʻUmar:

He served in the collection of state money in Egypt and participated in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the regiment (*bölük*).

***MD* 50, No. 761**
(993/1585)

Husayn:

The aforementioned performed well in the war against the Druzes. He is to be awarded 3 *akçe*s and attached to the group of tent-pitchers (*hayme mehterleri*).

***MD* 50, No. 763**
Sha‘ban 993/July–August 1585
Corps of the janissaries of Damascus: Infantry Officer (*yayabaşı*) Zayn al-‘Abidin, Janissary Abdi Hüseyn, Squadron Commander (*serbölük*) Abdullah, Squadron Commander Bahram Abdullah, Squadron Commander Mustafa, Janissary Ahmed, and Janissary Perviz Abdullah:

Uveys Pasha has sent letters. Because of the performance of the aforementioned in the war against the Druzes, they are to be assigned *timar*s in accordance with the regulations (*kanun*).

***MD* 50, No. 764**
(993/1585)
Pomotion:

Musa Bey, the bey of Nablus, was a useful man in cutting off the heads of Druzes in the war against them. Because of his good service, he is to be awarded a promotion of 40,000 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 766**
(993/1585)
Muhammad:
‘Abdallah.
Darwish.

The aforementioned participated in the war against the Druzes from beginning to end. They are to be awarded the pay of an armourer (*cebeci gedikleri*).

***MD* 50, No. 768**
(993/1585)
Corps of the exalted threshold: Muhammad Iskandar.
On the 3rd day of [BLANK].

Awarded two *akçe*s as a promotion for participation in the war against the Druzes.

***MD* 50, No. 769**
(993/1585)
Corps of the retired (*mütekaid*) of Egypt, Mustafa:

The aforementioned has done well in collecting state money and is currently performing satisfactorily in the war against the Druzes. He is to be assigned two-thirds of the income (*sulsan*) of members in the company of the sons of *sipahi*s.

***MD* 50, No. 797**
(993/1585)

The *beylerbeyi* of Sidon and Beirut[4] reports that a *timar* of 3000 *akçe*s is available in Beirut. Divane Yusuf (literally, Crazy Yusuf) is to be awarded a promotion of 1500 *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 798**
(993/1585)
Muhammad Diwan.

He has brought heads [to us] in the war against the Druzes. He is to be awarded the income of *iptidaden cebeci* [the beginning salary of a *cebeci*].

***MD* 50, No. 799**
(993/1585)
Sha‘ban ‘Umar:

*Kul* Mahmud Bey reports that [the aforementioned] has done well in collecting state money and has also participated in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the company of the sons of *sipahi*s with two-thirds of the income.

4. This is a clear indication that a province (*eyalet*) of Sidon-Beirut was created in the wake of the 1585 Ottoman invasion of the Shuf.

***MD* 50, No. 818**
(993/1585)

All members of the *müteferrika*, *çavuşlar* and other regiments assigned to the war against the Druzes, who fought night and day and who performed well in cutting off the heads of Druzes – as the sealed register (*mühürlü defter*) of the commander-in-chief (*serdar*) reports – are to be awarded promotions according to the regulations. This is an order to the *beylerbeyi*.

***MD*** 50, No. 828
(993/1585)
Hüseyn:

A *kapıcı* of the exalted threshold has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*). The brother of the aforementioned did very well in the war against the Druzes. He is to be appointed a *kapıcı* of the imperial gate (*bab-ı hümayun kapıcısı*).

***MD* 50, No. 972**
(993/1585)

Mahmud Bey, one of the emirs of Egypt, reports that Muhammad, of the *müteferrika* of Egypt, has a salary (*ulufe*) of 60 *akçe*s. Because of his active participation in the war against the Druzes, he is to be awarded the income of two-thirds of a *zeamet*.

***MD* 50, No. 975**
(993/1585)

Upon the recommendation of the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus, Rustem ibn Abdullah, an infantry commander of the janissaries of Damascus with a salary of 20 *akçe*s is to be assigned a *zeamet* according to the regulations.

***MD* 50, No. 978**
(993/1585)
Company of *çavuş*es (*çavuşluk*):

The *beylerbeyi* of Sidon and Beirut[5] has sent a letter [stating that] Mustafa

5. Another indication concerning the establishment of the province of Sidon-Beirut immediately after the 1585 invasion.

ibn Musa, who holds a *zeamet* in the *sancak* of Damascus, has done well in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the company (*zümre*) of *çavuş*es of my exalted threshold, but will remain in [his present] place to protect the aforesaid *vilayet*.

***MD* 50, No. 995**
(993/1585)
Corps of the *müteferrika*, Ahmed:

The aforementioned has performed satisfactorily in the war against the Druzes. He is to be awarded two-thirds of the income of members of the company of the sons of *sipahi*s.

***MD* 50, No. 1000**
(993/1585)
The *müteferrika* of the exalted threshold:

The previous bey of Hama, Mahmud Bey, has submitted a petition (*arzuhal*) saying that he has learnt that the sons of [BLANK], Ahmed and Mustafa, who hold *zeamet*s in the *sancak* of Saruhan, have served in the war against the Druzes. They are to be attached to the aforesaid company.

***MD* 50, No. 1001**
(993/1585)
Corps of gunners (*Cemaat-i topçuyan*) of the exalted threshold, Mustafa, Mehmed Ali, Ahmed, Mehmed, Ramazan, Mustafa and Hüseyn.

The aforementioned served in the navy during the war against the Druzes. Each is to be granted a promotion of one *akçe* from the vacant [*timar*s].[6]

***MD* 50, No. 1003**
(993/1585)
Corps of the infantry officers of Damascus, Ali Veli.

The aforementioned served in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the squadron (*bölük*) in accordance with the regulations.

6. This is an increment on their pay and not a grant of *timar*.

***MD* 50, No. 1004**
(993/1585)
Corps of the *müteferrika*, Hasan Hayyat:

The aforementioned is a loyal subject of long-standing who participated in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to [BLANK] with two-thirds of the income.

***MD* 50, No. 1005**
(993/1585)
Company of *çavuş*es (*çavuşluk*) of the exalted threshold:

Ahmad ibn ʻAbd al-Karim, [one] of the *zaim*s of Damascus, has served the *vakif* of the late Sultan Süleyman in Damascus. He has done very well in collecting state money and has participated fully in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the company of *çavuş*es of the exalted threshold.

***MD* 50, No. 1006**
(993/1585)
Corps of the *müteferrika* of Egypt, Mustafa ʻAbdallah, Ahmad ibn ʻAbdallah.

The bey of Safad, Mansur Bey, has sent a number of letters. The aforementioned persons served very well in the war against the Druzes. They are to be attached to the company of the sons of *sipahi*s with two-thirds of the income.

***MD* 50, No. 1007**
(993/1585)
Corps of the *müteferrika* of Egypt, Yusuf ʻAbdallah:

The bey of Nablus sent a letter stating that the aforementioned has done well in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the company of the *hassa pazarı zümresi* with two-thirds of the income.

***MD* 50, No. 1008**
(993/1585)
Corps of novices (*cemaat-i gılman-ı aceman*), Ali:

The aforementioned participated and performed very well in the war against the Druzes. He is to be awarded an increase in salary (*ulufe*) of one *akçe*.

***MD* 50, No. 1014**
(993/1585)
Corps of [BLANK] of Egypt, Fayiq ibn ʻAbdallah:

Sinan Bey, one of the emirs of Egypt, has sent a letter [stating that] the aforementioned did very well in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the company of *cebeciler* (armourers) with two-thirds of the income.

***MD* 50, No. 1030**
(993/1585)
Corps of the *müteferrika* of Egypt, Sulayman ʻAli.

The aforementioned participated actively in the war against the Druzes. He is to be attached to the company of the sons of *sipahi*s with two-thirds of the income.

***MD* 50, No. 1020**
(993/1585)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Baqi (15333) | Ahmed Abdullah (4999) | Mstafa (4999) |
| Hüseyn (5000) | Ilyas (5000) | Haydar (5000) |
| Mustafa (1500)[7] | Ridwan Abdullah | Hasan Abdullah, |
| Piyale Abdullah | Ali Abdullah | Yusuf Abdullah |
| Mustafa Abdullah | Jaʻfar Abdullah | Hasan Abdullah |
| Mahmud Abdullah | Memi Abdullah | Jaʻfar Murad |
| Hüseyn Abdallah | Hasan Abduallah | Jaʻfar Abdullah |
| Mustafa Abdullah | | |

The bey of Sakız, Mustafa Bey Defteri.

The aforementioned [Mustafa Bey] has sent a sealed register stating that the aforementioned persons were useful while serving in the imperial navy and

7. The figures listed next to the first seven names refer to the current revenue of the holdings of these individuals.

participated in the war against the Druzes. Baqi is to be awarded an increase of 3000 *akçe*s and the rest 1000 *akçe*s each.

***MD* 50, No. 1068**
(993/1585)
Corps of the dockyard (*tersane-i amire*), Yusuf Abdullah:

The aforementioned served in the imperial navy and participated in the war against the Druzes. He is awarded a promotion of four *akçe*s.

***MD* 50, No. 1080**
(993/1585)
Corps of the military band (*mehteran-ı alem*):

Mehmed, flautist (*zurnacı*), 5 daily;
Mustafa, drummer (*tabbal*), 4 daily;
‘Ali, tambourine player (*zilli*), 6 daily;
Hacı, *zilli*, 4 daily;
‘Abd al-Karim, *tabbal*, 4 daily;
Ja‘far, flautist (*nefiri*), 8 daily;
[and] ‘Ali, *nefiri*, 8 daily.

The aforementioned persons participated in the war against the Druzes from beginning to end. Each is to be awarded a promotion of one *akçe* [daily].

# Glossary

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| *Ağa/ağalık* | Military commander/military command. The term was also used to designate palace officials, leaders of guilds and trades, and provincial notables. The *Ağa* of the Janissaries (*yeniçeri ağası*) was the head and highest commander of the janissary corps in the capital. |
| *Ahidname* | A written agreement concluded between the Ottoman state and other states; in particular, such an agreement granting the latter certain concessions, tax exemptions or other privileges. |
| *Akçe* | Asper, a silver coin used in the Ottoman Empire until the end of the seventeenth century. From the late sixteenth century, its weight and value changed frequently due to economic and financial crises. |
| *Alay* | A military regiment composed of fief-holding cavalry (*timarlı süvariler*). |
| *Alaybeyi* | A regimental commander holding a fief of the zeamet order. |
| *Arpalık* | Revenues allocated to high officials, members of the court and high functionaries of the learned, religious and administrative classes as a stipend in addition to their existing revenues or salaries. It also served as a pension on retirement, or as a form of compensation during intervals between appointments. *Arpalık* consisted of part of the revenue of a *sancak* or *kaza*, or of cash payment made directly by the treasury. |
| *Arzuhal* | Written request, petition. |
| *Avarız* | One of the *rüsum-u örfiye* (customary taxes). It was originally designed to meet expenses incurred under extraordinary circumstances, such as military campaigns or emergency aid to areas afflicted by disaster. Gradually, it became a regular tax, varying in amount over |

time. The *avarız* was determined and collected on the basis of households and paid in cash, in kind (for example grain), or in labour (for example the manufacture of oars for the navy, or work on roads and bridges). From the sixteenth century onward, payments in kind or in labour were replaced by fixed cash payments.

*Avarız hanesi* Refers to the units into which the entire region was divided for the collection of the *avarız* tax. Each settlement (village, town or city) was represented by a certain number of these units, determined on the basis of its population, wealth and resources. Thus, according to its particular conditions, a settlement may have been counted as representing five, ten, twenty, or sometimes one-half or one-quarter of these units. When the need arose to collect an *avarız* tax, the amount required was divided by the number of *avarız hanesi*.

*Bab-ı hümayun* Imperial gate; the outer gate of Topkapı Palace.

*Bad-ı hava* A tax that was part of the *rüsum-u örfiye* (customary taxes).

*Bahşiş* Bonus, tip or monetary reward distributed to soldiers, the *ulema* (the learned, cultural and religious circles) and other functionaries on the occasion of the sultan's accession (called *cülûs bahşişi*), or his first battle (*sefer bahşişi*). It was also paid to soldiers for extraordinary services rendered during wartime. The word also refers to the fee or tip collected from subjects by officials for the performance of their official duties.

*Başbuğ* Commander of a military unit during wartime. Also refers to the chief of the rebels in times of revolt, or the head of a local community.

*Başçavuş* Commander of the fifth battalion of the *ağa bölükleri* regiments (commander's battalions), which served as the personal forces of the janissary commander (*yeniçeri ağası*). The holder of this position was one of the highest-ranking officers in the entire janissary corps.

*Bedel-i deve akçesi* Monetary payment collected from nomads as a tax in lieu of camels.

*Berat* — Order/licence. A *firman* issued to confirm an appointment, or the allocation of a salary, title, grant, exemption, or privilege.

*Bey* — Title used to designate high-ranking officials such as the governor of a *sancak*, a military commander, or the sons of important functionaries.

*Beylerbeyi* — Governor of a province (*eyalet*). Also called *vali* or *emir-ül ümera*.

*Beylerbeylik* — Title, post or domain of the *beylerbeyi*/'province'.

*Bölükbaşı* — The commander of each *bölük* (squadron or military unit) in the army.

*Cebeci* — (or *cebeciler zümresi*). Corps of armourers/infantry company in the *kapıkulu* army entrusted with manufacturing, maintaining, repairing and transporting the weapons used by the janissaries. The corps was headed by a *cebecibaşı*.

*Cebeci gediği* — (plural *gedikleri*). The post of an armourer within the *cebeci* or *cebeciler* corps.

*Cerde* — Horsemen escorting Muslim pilgrims.

*Cizye* — Per capita tax imposed on non-Muslim males. Special tax collectors or tax farmers were entrusted with its collection.

*Cizyedar* — Official or agent in charge of collecting the poll tax (*cizye*).

*Çavuş/çavuşluk* — Halberdier/guard/post of *cavuş*. The title *çavuş* was given to officials carrying out different functions. For example, *çavuş*es of the Imperial Council (*divan-ı hümayun çavuşları*) acted as messengers and performed ceremonial duties in the palace. Their head, the *çavuşbaşı*, was responsible for directing the communication of orders from the court to provinces and had other important duties such as inspecting documents concerning the transfer of fiefs. Similarly, *çavuş*es in the janissary corps (*kul çavuşları*) communicated the orders of commanding officers to soldiers in times of war, while serving as aides-de-camp when the empire was at peace.

*Defterdar* — Treasurer; a high-ranking official responsible for the

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| | treasury and for land records. In the provinces, the *timar defterdarı* was an official in charge of bookkeeping transactions relating to the *timar*s, and keeping records of fiefs and their holders in accordance with the land registers. |
| *Dirhem* | Has various meanings – a tubular box for measuring gunpowder; a measure of weight equivalent to 3207 grams; or a unit of currency weighing one dirhem of silver, the dirhem in this case being equivalent to 2.30 grams (*örfi dirhem*). |
| *Dizdar* | Commander of the fortress guards. |
| *Ebna-yı sipahiyan* | (or *cemaat-i ebna-yı sipahiyan*) Soldiers belonging to the *sipah* cavalry; one of the six divisions of the *kapıkulu süvarileri* (cavalry). It was a highly regarded corps so-called because its members were partly recruited from among the sons of current members of the six cavalry corps. |
| *Emin* | Salaried agents in charge of collecting taxes and other revenues for transfer from the provinces to the state treasury. |
| *Emanet* | Lands and other possessions of the imperial domain whose revenues were transferred directly to the state treasury in their entirety. |
| *Emir* | Head, chief, commander, *sancakbeyi*. |
| *Emirü'l-ümera* | Title meaning 'commander of the commanders', which was used to refer to a *beylerbeyi*. |
| *Esedi/esedi guruş* | Highly-valued unit of Dutch currency that bore the figure of a lion. |
| *Eşraf* | Notables of a particular town or city. |
| *Eşrefi* | Name given in Egypt to coins minted there upon the order of Sultan Selim I (Yavuz) following the Ottoman conquest of the country in 1517. |
| *Eyalet* | Province; also called *vilayet*. The largest unit in the administrative division of the Ottoman state. The empire was divided into *eyalet*s, *eyalet*s into *sancak*s and *sancak*s into *kaza*s. The *eyalet* was governed by a *beylerbeyi* – and also by viziers after the mid-sixteenth |

century – who was its administrative and military head.

*Filori* — Florin. Name the Ottomans gave to a gold coin inscribed with a flower that was minted in thirteenth-century Florence. The same term was used for all gold coins minted in Europe.

*Firman* — Ferman, imperial edict, order of the sultan.

*Fetva* — Legal opinion or statement issued by an Islamic legal expert (*mufti*). The *fetva* was issued in response to a request from a *kadı* (judge), an official, or an individual. The *fetva* was not a judgement, although it could be the basis for decision by a *kadı*.

*Gedik* — An established place in a household, public service or commercial establishment of a fixed number of posts held by a kind of feudal tenure; a trade monopoly, a licence or the right to the exclusive exercise of a trade in a particular area.

*Gedikli* — A holder of a privilege or a post as a reward for service.

*Gılman-ı aceman* — (or *gılman-ı acemiyan*). Non-Muslim boys conscripted through the *devşirme* system and trained in the corps of novices (*acemi ocağı*) in order to become members of the *kapıkulu* army or the palace's inner service.

*Gönüllü* — (or *gönüllüyan*). Salaried volunteer soldiers enlisted in some provinces to serve in the place of janissaries. Also called *yerli kulu*. The most notable example is the *Cemaat-ı gönüllüyan-ı Mısr*: the corps of *gönüllü* soldiers in Egypt.

*Gulamiye* — Fee paid for tax collection services. When *kapıkulu* soldiers collected the *cizye* tax they were given a fee of ten *akçe*s for each *cizye* tax collected from the population of any given province. Although they no longer performed this service by the mid-seventeenth century, they continued to receive a *gulamiye* fee. *Avarız-ı gulamiye* refers to the taxes levied to pay the expenses of a functionary's visit to the area.

*Gureba* — (or *gureba bölüğü*). Two of the six divisions of the *Kapıkulu* cavalry. They were called *gureba* (plural of *garib*), meaning 'stranger' or 'foreigner', because they

were originally composed of mercenaries from Arab or Persian lands, or new converts to Islam.

*Haraç* — Land tax authorized by Islamic law (*rüsum-u şeriye*). The term also refers to taxes collected from non-Muslims, such as the poll tax (*cizye*).

*Has* — (plural *havas*). Fief producing an annual revenue of more than 100,000 *akçe*s. *Has* holders included *sancakbeyi*s, *beylerbeyi*s, viziers, women of the imperial family and the sultan himself.

*Has-ı hümayun* — (or *havas-ı hümayun*). Imperial possessions. Large fiefs and revenue sources belonging to the treasury. Some of these were the sultan's personal property; hence, the term may also refer to the sultan's sources of revenue.

*Hassa pazarı zümresi* were a group of functionaries in charge of making purchases for the palace from the market.

*Hatt-ı hümayun* — The sultan's written order.

*Havas* — (singular *has*). See above.

*Hayme mehterleri* — Group of soldiers in charge of pitching and striking the army's tents, as well as maintaining and transporting them. Those in charge of the sultan's tent were called *hayme-i hassa mehterleri*.

*Hüccet* — (or *Hüccet-i şeriye*). Document recording a judicial decision or an attestation of a contract or any other legal transaction that has been established under the authority of a *kadı*.

*Hüküm* — Decree, judicial decision, order; also refers to *firman*.

*Hüküm-i hümayun* — Imperial edict, *firman*.

*Hümayun* — Imperial.

*İcmal* (*defteri*) — A summary register of the revenues and expenditures of the state treasury and the provinces.

*İhtisab emini* — Refers to the superintendent of markets and guilds who assisted the *kadı* (chief justice) of Istanbul by serving as head of the market police to supervise prices and to ensure order in the markets. Also called *ihtisab ağası* or *istisab nazırı*.

*İltizam* — Tax farm. The recipient of an *iltizam* was a *mültezim*.

*Kadı* — Judge. An official of the *ulema* class who enforced both

religious law and the *kanun*s in court. Each judicial district (*kaza*) had its court and its *kadı*.

*Kanun* — Secular laws Ottoman sultans issued to deal with matters not covered by Islamic law either in part or in full.

*Kapıcı* — Palace gatekeeper. The gatekeepers guarded the gates, conveyed orders and messages, guided applicants to the Imperial Council on the days it met, and executed the council's decisions – including the infliction of punishment by beating.

*Kapıcıbaşı* — The head of the gatekeepers. As one of the palace's most important functionaries, the *kapıcıbaşı* was sometimes sent to the provinces on special missions.

*Kapıcılar kethüdası* was the highest of all of the palace *kapıcı*s who served during Imperial Council meetings and was in charge of transmitting verbal or written messages between the sultan and the grand vizier.

*Kapıkulu* — (plural *kapıkulları*). Salaried infantry or cavalry soldiers who formed the standing army of the Ottoman state.

*Katip* — Secretary, scribe.

*Kaza* — The judicial and administrative district of a province and of a *kadı*.

*Kese* (or *kise*) — Leather case containing a specific number of gold or silver coins. The term was also used to indicate a particular amount of money that varied over time. In the fifteenth century, one *kese* was equivalent to 30,000 *akçe*s, or to 10,000 *altın* (gold coins). In the sixteenth century, it was equivalent to 20,000 *akçe*s, while in the seventeenth it represented 40,000 *akçe*s until 1661 and 50,000 thereafter.

*Kethüda* — Also called *kahya*. An official assigned duties in the palace, the administration, or the army, or in the service of a high dignitary. *Timar kethüdası* refers to a provincial functionary who assisted in the *timar* treasury and in the assignment of *timar*s, as well as revenues and expenditures.

*Kışlakçılar* — People settled in appropriate areas for the winter, such as troops being quartered and nomads temporarily residing

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| | on pasture land near water sources. (The opposite of *kışlak* was *yaylak*: land where people and flocks spent the summers.) |
| *Levend* | Groups of soldiers employed in the land forces and in the navy. In the land forces, they were part of the provincial army and served as cavaliers under *sancakbeyi*s or *beylerbeyi*s. When their masters were appointed elsewhere, or dismissed, these *levend* remained idle, often becoming bandits. *Levend* in the navy were soldiers recruited from coastal areas; sometimes they were paid salaries and sometimes they served in lieu of taxes due from their households or villages. |
| *Liva* | See *sancak*. |
| *Mahzar* | Petition signed and/or sealed by supplicants and conveyed to state offices to communicate any wish or complaint. Also means 'report', 'minutes'. |
| *Mal-ı miri* | Land, resources, or other property belonging to the state. |
| *Malikane* | State land allocated to a person who collected its revenues and held it as private property all his life, but he could not sell it or bequeath it to his heirs. The usufruct belonged to this person, the ownership to the state. |
| *Mehteran-ı alem* | Those members of the sultan's military band who carried the flags and banners. |
| *Mevacib* | The *ulûfe* (salary) paid to functionaries and soldiers once every three months. |
| *Mir* | Commander, leader, chief, head. |
| *Miralay* | Another title for the *alaybeyi*. |
| *Mirliva* | Another title for the *sancakbeyi*. |
| *Mirmiran* | Another title for the *beylerbeyi*. |
| *Mirahur* | Also known as *imrahor*. A high ranking official in charge of the palace's stables and horses. |
| *Molla* | The *kadı* (judge) of a large *kaza*, *sancak,* or province; chief judge. |
| *Mufassal* (*defteri*) | Detailed register of the revenue and expenditure of the treasury and the provinces held in a central registry office called the *mufassal kalemi*. |
| *Muhzırbaşı* | An official who summoned persons to court and ensured |

that they complied. Also, a member of the regular staff of the imperial or provincial council (*divan*) responsible for seeing that council proceedings were conducted in an orderly fashion and that the council's decisions were carried out.

*Mukaddem* Chief.

*Mukataa* Allocation of revenue-producing state property to an agent for administration and tax farming in return for a specific preset sum. Unit of property thus allocated. There were two kinds of *mukataa*s: *mirî mukataa*s were assigned every year, or once every two or three years, while *malikane*s were assigned for life.

*Mutasarrıf* Title of an administrative official in the provincial administration.

*Mübaşir* Agent who conveys orders; usher.

*Mühimme* (*defterleri*) were registers of the *mühimme* ('important' or public matters) where each decision of the sultan and the imperial council was recorded.

*Mültezim* Tax farmer; holder of an *iltizam*.

*Müteferrika* The cavalry corps that formed the sultan's personal retinue. Some members of the corps were sons of the sultan's daughters, or his viziers, *beylerbeyi*s or *defterdar*s; they were either salaried or held fiefs. There was also a group called *müteferrika* in the janissary corps. In addition, the term was further used to designate a group of high officials serving various dignitaries – grand viziers, viziers, *beylerbeyi*s, *sancakbeyi*s and others – who accompanied them during expeditions, transmitted their orders and rendered other similar services.

*Mütesellim* Interim administrator appointed by a *beylerbeyi* or *sancakbeyi* to replace him during his absence (for example while he was on campaign) with the approval of the palace. Also, a person holding the office of *beylerbeyi* or *sancakbeyi* while awaiting the arrival of a new appointee.

*Mütevelli* Trustee; administrator of a waqf.

*Nahiye* Township, administrative subdivision of a *kaza* (district).

*Nakib* — Representative or leader of a community, in particular, the representative of the descendants of the Prophet Mohammad who mediated their relations with the state and kept a record of their rights and privileges.

*Orta* — Battalion.

*Ocaklık* — Refers to the allocation of the revenues of state land to a person for life. This person would collect the land's taxes but cannot sell or transfer it. The holder did not necessarily receive this right in remuneration for a particular service; also the right was irrevocable and its holder enjoyed administrative or judicial authority. He also participated in campaigns along with the *timar* and *zeamet* holders in his region. This system was most frequently found in the eastern provinces of the empire.

*Öşür* — Tithe; one of the taxes stipulated by Islamic law, corresponding to one-tenth of the agricultural produce.

*Piyade* — Infantry, also called *yaya.* This infantry group of the army was established prior to the Janissary corps. They served as salaried soldiers during campaigns and cultivated the land at other times. After the establishment of the janissary corps, the *piyade* were maintained through the *timar* system.

*Reaya* — (or *reaya ve beraya*). The subjects of the Ottoman state, namely taxpayers; eventually, the term came to apply exclusively to non-Muslim subjects.

*Ruznamçe* — (or *ruznamçe-i hümayun*). The register of the daily revenues and expenditures of the imperial treasury. Also called *ruzname* and *ruzname-i hümayun*.

*Rüsum* — (singular *Resm*). Taxes/dues. Used as *rüsum-u örfiye* to designate customary taxes – or taxes authorized by imperial authority or decree – and *rüsum-u şeriye* to designate taxes based on Islamic law.

*Salyane* — Salaries or allocations paid annually.

*Sancak* — Basic administrative unit of the Ottoman territory. The *sancak*s, or *liva*s, were the component parts of the *eyalet*s (provinces) and were placed under the administrative and military authority of *sancakbeyi*s.

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| *Sancakbeyi* | Commander and administrator of the *sancak* who is entitled to exercise military and civil authority. *Sancakbeyi*s were also called *mirliva* or, in plural form, *ümera*. |
| *Sekban* | The sixty-fifth battalion of the janissary corps, composed of one squadron of cavalry and 34 squadrons of infantry. The *sekban* served as the sultan's personal guards, campaigning and hunting with him. |
| *Serbölük* | Squadron commander. Same as *bölükbaşı.* See above. |
| *Serçeşme* | Leader of irregular troops. |
| *Serdar* | Title given to grand viziers who commanded the army on campaigns that the sultan did not lead in person. Also refers to a military commander on a special mission. |
| *Silahdar* | The *silahdar-ı hassa* or *silahdarağa* was a high-ranking official close to the sultan charged with keeping his sword and other arms; during ceremonies, he carried the sultan's sword on his shoulder. *Silahdar* was also the name of one of the *kapıkulu* cavalry's six regiments; it was composed of 260 squadrons, each containing 20 to 30 soldiers. |
| *Silahdarbaşı* | Commander of the *silahdar* regiment. |
| *Silahşor* | Soldiers capable of using various types of arms efficiently; they were therefore appointed to guard the sultan and other high-ranking officials. |
| *Sipahi* | A fief-holding member of the provincial cavalry. The *timarlı sipahi* lived in the place where his fief was located and collected the tax revenues of his lands in return for maintaining himself and his retainers (called *cebeli* or *cebelu*) in times of peace and for bringing them, properly supplied with horses, arms, food and other necessities, to the battlefield in times of war. The number of retainers each fief-holder was required to maintain was proportional to the amount of revenue his *timar* generated. |
| *Subaşı* | Chief or superintendent of police in each major town or city. |
| *Surre* | Literally, 'money case'. A sum of money paid to bedouin chiefs along the route to the Hejaz to ensure the safety of |

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| | the pilgrimage caravan. The term also referred to the money and gifts the sultan sent annually to Mecca and Medina for distribution to the descendants of the Prophet's family, notables and others during the pilgrimage season. The ceremonial procession was known as the *surre alayı*. |
| *Süvari* | Cavalry or cavalier. |
| *Taife* | A group or community of people/a group of men. |
| *Telhis* | An abridged report or text, or an elegantly written summary memorandum that the grand vizier submitted to the sultan in order to get his opinion or obtain his permission to proceed in a particular fashion. The sultan wrote his response very briefly at the beginning of the text; this note was called *hatt-ı hümayun*. |
| *Telhisî* | (or *telhisçi*). A functionary at the grand vizier's office in charge of writing *telhis* documents and taking them for submission to the sultan. |
| *Temessük* | Bill, receipt. A stamped document issued by the state, an office or a person and handed over at the conclusion of a transaction or an agreement, most notably to certify the right to use or otherwise benefit from immovable property. A *temessük* was issued to fief holders to whom land and revenues were transferred, as well as to other dignitaries such as waqf administrators, to certify their rights and authority. It further signifies bonds received against a debt or a document certifying legal representation or power of attorney. |
| *Terakki* | Increase of, or bonus added to, the salary of an officer or soldier, or the revenue of a fief holder, as a reward for special or heroic service or in recognition of seniority in a position or the accession of a sultan. |
| *Tezkereci* | Head of the cabinet, or first secretary of a vizier or governor. The *tezkereci* was charged with writing the letters and memoranda of his superior and issuing provincial orders and decrees. |
| *Timar* | Fief. A unit of land allocated by the state to a person or persons entitled to collect its tax revenues in return for |

military or other services. A fief producing an annual revenue not exceeding 19,999 *akçe*s was called a *timar*. A fief with an annual revenue of between 20,000 and 99,999 *akçe*s was called a *zeamet*; one generating more than 100,000 *akçe*s became a *has*. The basic revenue of a *timar* was called the *kılıç* (sword) and it corresponded with the amount needed to maintain one cavalier (the holder) and to pay for his supplies in times of war. The fief grew with revenues called *hisse* or *ifraz*, which were added to the *kılıç* and which determined the number of additional *cebeli*s the holder had to maintain. The amount per *kılıç* was usually 3000 *akçe*s for *timar*s in the European parts of Ottoman territory, 2000 *akçe*s for lands in Anatolia and Syria and 20,000 *akçe*s for a *zeamet*. The initial revenue allocated with a fief was called *iptida* (beginning) and consisted of the *kılıç* and *hiss*es of varying amounts.

*Topçu, cemaat-i topçuyan* was the cannon corps of the artillery unit of the *kapıkulu* army. The cannon corps included personnel at the foundry, where the cannons were manufactured, and the gunners who operated them. While their main barracks were in the capital, the cannon corps operated foundries and stationed battalions in various parts of the empire.

*Ulûfe* Also referred to as *mevacib*. Salary paid to all *kapıkulu* soldiers, the military corps, and state and palace officials once every three months, although it was calculated on a per diem basis. The term was derived from the Arabic word *alef* (barley).

*Üsküdar has türkmenleri* was a group or community of Turkomans settled in Üsküdar who were designated as *has* because they performed various services for the palace.

*Vali* Governor/*beylerbeyi*.

*Vilayet* Province/*eyalet*.

*Voyvoda* A word of Slavic origin used primarily as a title for Moldovian and Wallachian princes. The term also refers to functionaries assigned by governors to collect the

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| | revenues of tax farms. It also appears to have been used to refer to governors of the rank of *sancakbeyi* or lower in Syria. |
| *Yasakçı* | A janissary appointed to the provincial security forces and police stations to ensure order or to guard a foreign mission. |
| *Yaya, yaya asker* | (or *piyade*). See above. |
| *Yayabaşı* | The commander of any one of the 101 infantry battalions (*yaya* or *cemaat ortaları*) of the janissary corps. The term also refers to a commander of the provincial infantry forces who held a *zeamet* fief. |
| *Yeniçeri gediği* | Refers to an entitlement to a salary as the occupant of a post in the janissary corps. Some of the officers and soldiers stationed in frontier provinces and fortresses were *gedik*, that is members of a particular group of fixed number. See *gedik*, above. |
| *Yerli* | (or *gönüllü*). Volunteer provincial soldiers recruited from among the local people. |
| *Yerli kul ağası* | Commander of any company of *gönüllü* (volunteer) or provincial soldiers. |
| *Zabit* | Officer. |
| *Zaim* | Holder of a fief of the order of *zeamet*. |
| *Zeamet* | Fief with a revenue ranging from between 20,000 and 99,999 *akçe*s. |
| *Zimmi* | Non-Muslim subjects. |
| *Zevaid* | Amount of surplus *waqf* revenue after expenditures are deducted. |

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